MADURAI
through the ages

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1801 A.D.

By

Dr. (Miss) D. DEVAKUNJARI, M.A., M.Ed., Ph.D.

General Editor
Dr. R. NAGASWAMY

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PREFACE

The present work, "Madurai Through the Ages" by the late Dr. D. Devakunjari was her doctoral thesis submitted to the Madras University. She was an eminent scholar who served as special officer in the Archaeological Survey of India before death snatched her away. In preparing her thesis, Dr. Devakunjari did extensive field work in the Madurai temple. Her erudition and hard work are evident in every page of her treatise.

This is the first time that a comprehensive treatise, not only on the political history of Madurai, but also on the great temple of Madurai is being published. The temple's architectural greatness, sculptural splendour and important role it played through the centuries are vividly brought out. Since this thesis was submitted in 1957 only a few finds that are really significant have been reported and few reinterpretations have been attempted by scholars. But the text is as presented by the author. The changes required are very few and moreover, we will not be doing justice to the author who is no more with us if the text is revised.

This excellent thesis on one of the greatest cities of Tamilnadu remained unpublished all these years. The society is thankful to Mrs. Venkatakrishnan, the sister of Dr. Devakunjari for not only permitting it to publish it in its publication series, but also for giving a substantial grant towards its publication. The society places on record its greatful thanks to Mr. Swaminathan (retired Assistant Librarian, Connemara Public Library). But for his keen interest and encouragement, the thesis would not have seen the light of day. Her sister Miss. Sarada took over 1500 Photograph of Madurai and its temple. All the illustrations included in this work are from her photographic collection.

The Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Reasearch (SAHER) is a registered society devoted to the study of the art, history, epigraphy and sociology of southern region. It has many branches throughout Tamilnadu.

Recently the Dharmapuri unit of the SAHER established a district archaeological museum at Dharmapuri This is the first of its kind to be established in the State by the efforts of the society with mostly teachers of the district as members. The establishment of the Dharmapuri Museum will remain a standing witness to the role played by the society in this region, in popularising archaeology among the people.

The society has already established a name for its academic activity through its publications. It has brought out two volumes of "South Indian Studies" in English. The latest of its books is "Natya Brahman" (a work on the ancient Indian theatre), a thesis submitted to the University of New Orleans (U.S.A.) by Anita Ratnam Rangaraj.

The Society has been associating itself with the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology in organising district level seminars on archaeology. It has already published the papers presented at the Chingleput district and the State level seminars. It has also published two books on the historical site of Kudavasal and on the Pallava magnate, Karunakara Tondaiman.

I congratulate Dr. R. Nagaswamy for his inspiring guidance to the SAHER, and its young and energetic Secretary Mrs. Chitra Viji for her active interest in its publications. I also thank Mr. S. Srinivasa Raghavan, who undertook the onerous task of going through the proofs and meticulously verifying the footnotes etc. Mr. Natana. Kasinathan, the Registering offcer of the Tamil nadu State Department of Archaeology, who has been a great source of help in seeing the book through the press, also deserves our thanks.

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T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN
(President, Saher)

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Madurai, well known as a pilgrim centre today, is one of the oldest cities in South India. For the last two thousand years it has been a great centre of South Indian culture and civilization. In India the history and culture of a region often centes round a temple. This is particularly true of South India where the temple has made a unique contribution not only to the religious life of the people but has also served as the nucleus round which the social and cultural life of the people revolve. Though many cities could boast of ancient origins, not all of them could claim a continuous history. The great cities of Kāñci, Tiruchirappalli, for instance, are unquestionably ancient centres like Madurai. But they have not had an unbroken history and they were pre-eminent only during comparatively short periods. Kāñci was a capital city of the Pallavas and of some of the early Cōḷas but faded off as a political capital later. The Cōḷas had capitals at various places. The most ancient of them, Uṟaiyūr, is now only a suburb. Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, another Cōḷa capital, had only a very brief life history. Tanjore had a comparatively long history but its origin does not date back earlier than the 8th-9th c. A.D.

Madurai, however, is one of the few cities to have enjoyed a continuous history which could be traced back to prehistoric times. The *sthalapurāṇas* speak of its hoary antiquity of when, it is said, Pārvati and Śiva ruled over Madurai and the Pāṇḍya territory. Whether as a temple city or as a capital city, the history of Madurai is distinct from that of other cities. Politically Madurai was the capital of a single dynasty, the Pāṇḍyas, who ruled continuously as far as is known from the early years of Christianity down to the 14th century. This fact alone more than anything else is enough to gain for Madurai a unique place. Even after the Pāṇḍyas Madurai has continued as the capital of some dynasty or other for four centuries more. It has therefore had a continuous history as a political capital for eighteen centuries. At the present day Madurai is still one of the premier cities in the State next only to Madras in importance.

The history of the Madurai city as a religious centre goes back to remote times since when the temple, one of the oldest institutions, has had a coeval history with those of the rulers and remains as important as ever even after the rulers have disappeared. The Madurai temple is not only of hoary antiquity but possesses an entire *purāṇa* of its own relating to the *līlas* of Sundarēśvara, the deity of Madurai. This *purāṇa* known as *Hālāsya Mahātmya* or *Tiruvilaiyāḍal* in Tamil narrates the 64 *līlas* performed by the God. All the *līlas* are centred round the Madurai temple or its neighbourhood. According to the legend Śiva as Sundarēśvara is said to have married the Goddess Mīnākṣī, the daughter of a Pāṇḍya king, and to have ruled over the kingdom Himself. This divine sovereignty is peculiar to Madurai. The Madurai temple has exercised great influence over South Indian life and culture from the earliest times.

The cultural prominence of Madurai in ancient times has earned for the city the epithet "The Athens of South India". It has been a great centre of learning from very early times. As the seat of the Tamil academy called the Śaṅgam it wielded great influence in the literary and cultural fields. Madurai has been in a sense an international metropolis with overseas commercial and cultural contacts with distant countries of the ancient world both in the east and the west.

Previous writers on the history of the Madurai country have confined themselves to certain periods of its political history. Among the general histories of Madurai and the Pāṇḍya country may be mentioned Nelson's *Madura Country* and Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*. The Madura and Tinnevelly Gazetteers also give useful general historical sketches. The accounts of Nelson and Caldwell, though still useful and valuable, are out of date since they were written in 1868 and 1881 when sufficient material for the early and mediaeval history of Madurai was not available. These works need a great deal of revision in view of relevant fresh material, epigraphical, archaeological and literary, which have now become available. Nelson's work is a very full and detailed account and may be termed a classic among historical works. His book covers the wider field of the Madurai country in general and is not a history of the city.

Other available works deal only with one period or aspect of the history of Madurai. Apart from such works as V. Kanaka-

sabhai Pillai's *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* and P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar's *History of the Tamils* which incidentally deal with Madurai in the Śaṅgam Age, there is yet no work treating directly of the cultural contributions of Madurai of the Śaṅgam epoch.

The post-Śaṅgam period and the Kaḷabhra interregnum in Madurai have not yet been fully studied. The *Pandyan Kingdom* by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri gives the history of the early and mediaeval Pāṇḍyas. *The Colas* by the same author contains many useful references to Pāṇḍya history. S. Muthuswami's thesis on the *Later Pandyas* has not yet been published. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's book on *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* speak also about the Muslim rule in Madurai in the 14th century. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam's paper on *The Banas in South Indian History* treats about the rule of the Bāṇādarāyas in the Madurai country. The rule of the Vijayanagara viceroys in Madurai still remains a dark chapter.

V. Rangachari in the columns of *The Indian Antiquary* and R. Sathianatha Aiyar in the *History of the Nayaks of Madura* have attempted to give a detailed and connected history of the Nāyakas of Madurai. A large amount of original material in the shape of records is available on the history of Madurai in the post-Nāyaka period. But not much work has been done in this field. S.C. Hill's *Yusuf Khan* deals only with a limited phase of this period.

All the available works on the history of Madurai have concentrated more or less on the history of one dynasty or another or to some particular periods. There are still gaps in the history of Madurai which have not yet been touched upon by writers. The history of the city itself has not received adequate attention. A connected history of the great temple city dealing with various aspects of its life and culture such as political, religious, social and economic, is a hard-felt need.

The great temple at Madurai which is one of the oldest in India has suffered much owing to the vicissitudes of fortune. The temple

fabric has been destroyed much through age and more through vandalism. It has been renovated from time to time. Many parts of the temple are therefore of a comparatively late period. Fortunately several vestiges of the early structures still remain here and there. The history of this great temple has not been studied systematically so far. Thus from every point of view Madurai deserves adequate and detailed study.

The present thesis is an attempt to compile a continuous and systematic account of the city and its temple which have not so far received the attention they deserve. This thesis covers the subject in many of the aspects above mentioned. While political history of a general nature has been treated in outline emphasis has been made about the city as a great centre of culture and art during its long history. Its history has been traced from prehistoric times and beginnings of recorded history. The political, literary and social history of the great Śaṅgam Age and the contribution of the many poets hailing from the city are considered next. The cultural and social history of the First Pāṇḍyan Empire has been dealt with particular reference to Madurai city and its environs. A feature of the architecture of the period is the large number of rock-cut caves and many of the caves of Tirupparankuṉṟam have been dealt with in detail. The building activities of the mediaeval Pāṇḍyas are not so well known and many examples of their buildings have been noticed. The influence of the *maṭhas* during the mediaeval period is outlined. The connection between Madurai city and Māḍakkuḷam is touched upon. The political and social history of the city under the Nāyakas of Madurai is dealt with.

The Madurai temple has been studied in a fairly detailed manner, fully illustrated with photographs and many facets of its history, architecture, iconography and administration are detailed. An attempt has been made to trace some of the earlier features and date many of the temple structures on the basis of their architectural features and available literary evidences. Some of the temples in the neighbourhood of Madurai city have been similarly studied. The city, its old forts and its palaces are covered. An attempt has been made to trace the lay-out of Tirumala Nāyaka's palace.

Though various types of source materials are available for study of the history of Madurai, yet when they are critically evalu-

ated it is found that they are inadequate or incomplete for giving an accurate and continuous account of the city. Epigraphy is one of the most fruitful sources of the ancient history of South India. The South Indian temple has stood as the very centre of the religious, social and economic life of the people. The temple walls are engraved with many inscriptions dealing with every aspect of South Indian life, from the military campaigns of the king down to the humble gifts of the common folk to the temple. The Madurai temple is one of the largest of its kind, but unfortunately owing to destruction only a comparatively small number of inscriptions have survived. Information—both direct and indirect—bearing on the history of the city has to be pieced together from these and from other epigraphs found in the city and its environs. Inscriptions are invaluable for the mediaeval history of Madurai, when even the chronology of the Pāṇḍya kings has to be fixed only with the help of the astronomical details in the epigraphs. A village-wise epigraphic survey of the Madurai district has not yet been carried out and the texts of a bulk of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions collected still remain unpublished. The texts of a large number of these unpublished epigraphs have, however, been made use of for the purposes of this present study. Besides the Pāṇḍya inscriptions, many Cōḷa epigraphs throw light on the history of mediaeval Madurai.

The available Pāṇḍya copper plates, though small in number, are invaluable for the light they shed on early Pāṇḍya history. But for the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, the Madras Museum plates and the larger and smaller Sinnamanūr plates, the history of the First Pāṇḍyan Empire would have almost remained a complete void. Some Pallava copper plates such as the Bāhūr plates are also helpful for the history of this period. Cōḷa copper plates such as the Anbil, Leyden, Tiruvālangāḍu and Karandai plates prove useful for mediaeval history. There is hardly any direct epigraphic material available for the period of the Sultanate of Madurai.

Epigraphy becomes a meagre source for the period of the Vijayanagara viceroys and the Bāṇādarāyas in Madurai. For the period of the Nāyakas there are many inscriptions as well as copper plates, both of the Nāyakas and of the Vijayanagara rulers. The Vijayanagara charters and epigraphs throw much light on Nāyaka history and help to corroborate or supplement the available information.

The value of literary sources for the history of Madurai during certain periods such as the early Śaṅgam and post-Śaṅgam ages and the modern post-Nāyaka period cannot be over-estimated. Regarding the Śaṅgam period, as far as possible, only references in the works of the poets hailing from Madurai and the Pāṇḍya country ot those who have sung of Madurai or its rulers have been made use of in this thesis.

For the later history of Madurai from about the 17th c. when epigraphic evidence dwindles literary sources in the shape of a large number of vernacular chronicles and memoirs are available. These historical works are of particular interest since the bulk of the literary works, especially in South India, is mainly religious in character. Most of these chronicles were collected by Col. Mackenzie and from what is known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. Abstracts of many of the manuscripts are given in Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts*, by Wilson in his catalogue of the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and in the descriptive catalogues of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. Some of them were summarised by William Taylor in 1835 in two volumes called *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*. Mackenzie's collection included a large number of inscriptions also. These have recently been published in the three volumes of the *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*. Apart from these two publications the bulk of the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* have not yet been published.

The chronicles and memoirs included in the Mackenzie collection are of varying historical value. The *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* and the *Mṛtyuñjaya Manuscripts* contain fairly reliable accounts and their chronology may also be depended upon. *The History of the Carnataca Governors* gives useful information but its chronology is not reliable. The *Tañjāvūri Āndhra Rājula Caritra* and the *Tañjāvūrivāri Caritra*, though dealing with the history of Tanjore, throw some light on Madurai history also. The accounts of Tirumala Nāyaka, his palace and his numerous benefactions given in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* are useful, though the translation is faulty. A large number of the manuscripts purport to deal with the genealogy and chronology of the Pāṇḍyas, for instance, the *Pāṇḍya Rājakkaḷ Purāṇa Caritram, Madurai Pāṇḍya Rājākkaḷ Caritram, Pāṇḍya Pratāpa*

Vamśāvaḷi and others, contain much legendary matter, need a great amount of sifting and are not very dependable. A number of manuscripts contain accounts of the origin and history of the poligars of various regions. These contain interesting and useful information, though one has to exercise care in separating fact from fiction.

Various Sanskrit and Telugu works of the Vijayanagara period, while primarily concerned with Vijayanagara history, help to elucidate the history of Madurai. The *Madhurā Vijayam*, the *Jaimini Bhāratam*, the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* and others belong to this class. Besides the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* there are other works and manuscripts which are very useful for the later history of Madurai. The *Rāmappayyaṉ Ammāṉai* and the *Khāṉ Sāyabu Saṇḍai* give many details of Tirumala's military campaigns and the war against Yusuf Khan respectively. Most of these literary works are helpful mainly with regard to political history.

Manuscript records of reports and accounts submitted by various officers to the government on the assumption of Madurai district by the British in 1801 A.D. which are in the Madras Record Office are of great use as authoritative material for the affairs of the period. The *Śritāḷa* manuscript appears to be a sort of log book of the Madurai temple. It seems to have been maintained carefully and recopied and brought up-do-date from time to time. It contains many details about the Madurai temple servants and the administration of the temple during the Nāyaka and post-Nāyaka periods. Incidentally it gives many references to the history of the temple under different rulers and of royal customs and ceremonies. The *Maduraittalavaralāṟu*, which has been published as a prose introduction to the *Madurai Tiruppaṇimālai*[1] and the *Madurai Sthānīkar Varalāṟu*[2] appear to have been originally parts of the *Śritāḷa*. These are reliable accounts and their chronology often closely approximates to the dates found in inscriptions of the period. The brief *Tiruppaṇi Vivaram* in prose forms an introduction to the more elaborate *Tiruppaṇimālai* in verse. Both together attempt a history of the various structures of the temple and the numerous benefactions made to the temple

1. *Śentamiḻ* publication No. 27.

2. *Śentamiḻ* Vol. V, p. 141 ff.

by the rulers and nobles as well as by the common folk. They provide a useful supplementation and corroboration of the architectural dating of the temple structures.

Though containing only casual references to historical events, legends and *purāṇas* are important sources for the local history of a place. There are many versions of the *Madurai Sthalapurāṇa* centring round the sixtyfour *Tiruviḷaiyāḍals*. Of these, the most important are *Kallāḍam* dating from about the 9th c. A.D., the *Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr Nambi, dating from about the 11th, 12th c. A.D., a later Sanskrit work known as the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* and based on it, the Tamil *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Parañjōti Munivar. Besides these there are a number of *ulās*, *piḷḷaittamiḻs*, *kalambakams* and other forms of sacred literatures. The Kūḍal Aḻagar temple and the Tiruvāppuḍaiyār temple in the city of Madurai and the Tirupparankunṟam, Aḻagarkōyil and Tiruvādavūr temples nearby have their own *sthalapurāṇas*. The *Periyapurāṇam*, the *Dēvāram* hymns and the *Tiruvācakam* of Māṇikkavācakar also contain many references to Madurai.

The contemporaneous letters and reports of the Jesuit missionaries who worked in the Madurai country have been collected in four volumes called *La Mission du Madure* by Fr. J. Bertrand. They are useful not only regarding the political history of Madurai in the 17th and 18th centuries but also contain much information about the economic, social and cultural life of the people. Translations of some passages of these volumes are given in Appendix A of R. Sathianatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks of Madura*. A critical English translation of all the four volumes would prove very useful to the student of South Indian History. The contemporaneous Dutch records are of similar value and need to be studied systematically.

Regarding foreign literary sources for the early history of Madurai the most important are the writings of Megasthenes, Pliny and Ptolemy and the work, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, the Ceylonese Chronicles, *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa*, and some references in the works of Chinese writers like Hiuen Tsang. The works of the classical writer of the West contain much information about Madurai of the Śaṅgam age. Though the chronology of the Ceylonese chronicles still offers some problems, they prove very useful for the history of the post-Śaṅgam epoch, the Pāṇḍyan civil wars of the mediaeval period and

the relations between Madurai and Ceylon. For the mediaeval period the writings of Muslim historians like Wassaf and Ibn Batuta and the notices of travellers such as Marco Polo are very helpful.

As regards archaeological evidence hardly any spadework has yet been done in the Madurai country. The immediate environs of Madurai city, such as Anuppānadi and Māḍakkuḷam seem to be rich in prehistoric antiquities and may prove a useful ground for research.

Regarding numismatics, though coins of the various dynasties who ruled over Madurai are available in fair numbers, coins definitely attributable, especially to the early Pāṇḍyas, are rare and many of the coins available are not easy of identification. Roman coins and coins of the Madurai Sultans are very helpful for the history of their respective periods.

Lastly, there are many modern writings—both books and periodicals—which are useful for writing a political and cultural history of Madurai. Of special interest and importance among these are the archaeological and epigraphical reports, both Indian and foreign. The volumes of *Indian Antiquary*, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *South Indian Inscriptions* and *Ancient India* contain a wealth of material.

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORY OF THE MADURAI COUNTRY

A. GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The modern city of Madurai is about 345 miles to the south of Madras, and geographically is located on lat. 9.58 N and long. 78.10 E. The Madurai district of which it is the capital is bounded by the Coimbatore and Trichinopoly districts on the north; by Trichinopoly and Ramnad districts on the east; by the Ramnad district on the south; and by Travancore-Cochin State on the west. The present district is only a very limited portion of the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom which comprised the modern districts of Madurai, Ramnad and Tinnevelly. The ancient boundaries of the kindgom were the river Vellaru on the north, the Bay of Bengal and Straits of Mannar on the east, Cape Comorin and the Indian Ocean on the south and the Western Ghats on the west[1].

The present district comprises the eight taluks of Dindigul, Kodaikanal, Madurai, Melur, Nilakkottai, Palni, Periyakulam, and Tirumangalam. Besides Madurai city the chief towns in the district are the seven taluk headquarters after which the taluks are named and Bodinayakkanur and Uttamapalayam in Periyakulam taluk.

There are five well-marked natural divisions in the district, *viz*., the Palni hills; the level expanse of Tirumangalam taluk with black-cotton soil and a few granite hills; the flat tracts of rice-growing areas covering much of Madurai and Nilakkottai taluks and the southern half of Melur; the higher and drier tracts of northern Melur, Dindigul and Palni and lastly the long and fertile Kambam Valley region.

The mountain ranges of Madurai which are mostly outliers of the Western Ghats include the broad mass of the Palni hills on

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1. A Tamil poem by an anonymous author states, "The Pāṇḍyan Territory is south of the river Veḷḷār, east of the town of Pērūr, north of Cape Comorin, and west of the Eastern Sea."

the west; the Varushanad and Andipatti ranges to the south; the Nagamalai range, the Sirumalais to the north-west: and the Alagarmalais, Karandamalais and the "Nattam hills" towards the north and east. These ranges and hills make Madurai a very picturesque country. Some of these like the Sirumalais have been spoken for their fertility even in ancient Tamil works, some like Alagarmalai are famous for their shrines and some like Kondrangimalai, "the handsomest peak of its kind in all Madura"[1] are renowned for their striking appearance. Many of the hills like Anaimalai and Panrimalai have figured in legends[2].

Some of the chief rivers of the district are the Gundar, flowing through Tirumangalam taluk and town; the Tirumanimuttar and the Palar flowing through northern Melur taluk and the Kodavanar and Shanmuganadi flowing northwards along the plains of Dindigul and Palni. The main river system of the district is the Vaigai and its tributaries. The latter rise in the Palni hills or the Varushanad and Andipatti ranges and join the Vaigai in the valley which lies between these two. The Vaigai flows south-eastwards past Madurai town, and enters the Ramnad district where it joins the Bay of Bengal not far from the town of Ramnad[3]. The soil of Madurai is mostly of the red ferruginous variety, the black varieties being uncommon and occurring to a considerable extent only in Tirumangalam taluk.

Excepting for the months of November, December and January the temperature is fairly high at Madurai throughout the year. During the summer it is very hot. The rainfall is received chiefly during the North-East Monsoon and averages about 30 to 35 inches annually.

Almost the whole of the Madurai district is covered with gneissic rocks. Minerals are rare. A broad band of white crystalline limestone stretching nearly two miles, occurs at Tirumal, a village

1. W. Francis, *Madura District Gazetteer*, p. 9.

2. Parañjōti's *Tiruvi/aiyāḍal*, Nos. 22 and 45.

3. Details of the Kritamāl river are given in the Appendix No. 3 to this chapter.

five miles north-east of Kalligudi in the Tirumangalam taluk. This limestone occurs also at Kokkulam, two miles north of Tirumal. Red and white quartz fragments are found at Gopalaswami hill in the extreme south of Tirumangalam taluk. Good building stone is quarried from Tirupparankunram. Iron ore is found near Kottampatti in Melur taluk and gold washing is reported to have been done at Palakkanuttu in Dindigul taluk. In 1899, an iron meteorite weighing about 35 pounds was found near Kodaikanal and was the second one to be so found in India.

Regarding flora, the most interesting parts of the district are the Palni and Sirumalai Hills. Colonel Beddome's account of the "Flora of the Pulvey Hill" in 1858, enumerates over 700 species of plants.

With regard to the fauna, the indigenous cattle of the district are small in stature. The chief cattle market is the one held at Madurai during the Citra festival (April-May) in the temple there. Madurai is not rich in small game and large game is confined to the hill ranges. Elephants were formerly very numerous. Wild animals such as tigers, reported to have been a menace by earlier writers[1], have long since disappeared.

B. PREHISTORIC PERIOD

The Madurai city, its environs and the Madurai country appear to be rich in material belonging to the prehistoric period though much archaeological exploration and excavation have yet to be done in this region.

Practically no traces of palaeolithic or neolithic man have as yet been found in Madurai district. But palaeoliths were collected by Bruce Foote "from a shingle bed in the alluvium of the Vaigai, on the left bank of the river, immediately north of Madurai town" and also a single palaeolith from Aviyur, 12 miles south of Madurai[2].

Neolithic finds were made by Bruce Foote at Veḷḷāḷankuḷam, south of Madurai, where a gneiss ringstone or mace head was found[3]. In the

1. Welsh in his *Military Reminiscences* (Vol. I, p. 24) says that in about 1795 A.D. he had hunted tigers on the *Secundermalee*, i.e., Tirupparankuṉṟam Hill.

2. R. Bruce Foote, *The Foote collection of Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities; Notes on their Ages and Distribution*, p. 52.

3. Ibid, p. 52.

Palni hills and their environs many vestiges of settlements of the early iron age people have been found. Stone kistvaens and dolmens are widely found distributed in the Madurai district. They have been reported from many places such as Kalvarpatti and Virālipaṭṭi in Dindigul taluk, Karuṅgālakkuḍi in Melur taluk and Palni and Kalayamuttūr in Palani taluk. Pyriform earthen tombs have been found near Kulaśēkharankōṭṭai in Nilakottai taluk, Paravai, Thovaraimān, Dadampatti, and Anuppānadi in Madurai taluk, and Senguḷam in Tirumangalam taluk.

South India abounds in what are known as megalithic monuments. While there is a general similarity among these it is possible to distinguish various types among them in different regions such as Chingleput, Pudukkottai and Cochin. These differences are mainly due to the influence of weather and geological factors which affected not only the structural form but also the situation of the megaliths[1].

Megaliths of the Chingleput district are cairn-circles or dolmenoid cists or barrows or little cairn-mounds. Urns in cairn-circles or barrows and coffins or sarcophagi in dolmenoid cists are to be expected. The urns are usually large in size and pyriform in shape.

The megalithic monuments of the Pudukkottai region consist of "transepted pot-holed dolemenoid cists with urn-burial interment together with the bounding circles, enclosing single and multiple urn-burials. The sarcophagi-interment is unknown here."[2]

Urn-burials are a class of monuments by themselves. While the form of iron implements, Black-and-red Ware and fragmentary burials found associated with urn-burials and megaliths bear a close affinity, urn-burials cannot be included among the real megaliths. "A comparative study of the pottery from the pure urn-burials of Aḍichanallūr and the megallithic pottery from Pudukkoṭṭai and Chingleput shows a comparative primitiveness of the former."[3]

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1. K.R. Srinivasan and N.R. Banerjee, *Survey of South Indian Megaliths*, Ancient India, No. 9, p. 109.
2. Ibid, p. 106.
3. Ibid, p. 111.

The prehistoric remains and monuments so far unearthed in Madurai and its environs consist mainly of burial urns and urn-burial sites. This type of burial seems to have been in vogue for a long time, from about the 3rd c. B.C. to about the 5th c. A.D.[1] The urn-burials are variously called *tāḻi* or *mudumakkaḷ-cāḍi* or *tmāttāḻi* in Tamil works dating from the Śaṅgam period to the 12th c. A.D.

Burial-urn sites have been found in several places near Madurai The village of Anuppānaḍi is about two miles to the south east of Madurai city. About 20 years ago pyriform earthenware jars were unearthed in the village by K. S. Srikantan.[2] The jars were found buried rather shallow and fairly close to one another. The collection consisted of two large jars each 3 feet high and 2 feet 4 inches in diameter at the mouth, smaller vessels, bowls and ring stands of the thin black glazed ware type known so extensively in the Madras State.

As early as 1887 Alexander Rea of the Archaeological Department had unearthed many earthenware sarcophagi in Anuppānaḍi[3] as well as in other places around Madurai such as Dādampaṭṭi[4], Paravai[5] and Tovaraimān[6]. He reports that at Anuppānaḍi the tombs appeared above the ground singly and in groups and that they largely varied in size, from a child's tomb measuring 1 foot 2¼ inches in diameter by 1 foot 7 inches deep to a large one measuring 3¼ feet in diameter. These were reported to be of a coarse, red earthenware material, of a very different clay from the finely grained light material of the enclosed smaller articles. Some few tombs, however,—always small, which were noticed most particularly at this place, were made of the thin black and red glazed earthenware of the small vessels about 3/16 inch thick. This type of tomb was comparatively limited in number and "were evidently used", says Rea, "by a superior class".

1. *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 15-16.
2. A.S.I. 1936-37, pp. 61-62 and plates XXV and XXVI.
3. G.O. 1663, Pub. 16-12-1887; Alexander Rea, *Some pre-historic burial places in Southern India*, J.A.S.B, Vol. LVII, Pt. I (1888), pp. 48 ff.
4. About 15 miles northwest of Madurai.
5. Five miles northwest of Madruai, near the Vaigai.
6. About six miles northwest of Madurai.

A tomb of the more ordinary variety of earthenware which was complete with its cover, though cracked, was found buried deep in the ground and quite at a distance from the others. Inside this were the remains of a skull and the bones of a skeleton which were large-sized and evidently those of a person over the ordinary height. In other tombs also were found remains of bones and also vessels of different shapes and colours. The predominant colours of these prehistoric pottery appear to be black and red. Some of them were ornamented with dots in diagonal lines which are stated by Mr. Rea to be peculiar. One pecularity noted by Mr. Rea was the surface glaze on these articles which had the appearance of polish on wood-work or horn. The Black-and-red Ware, as it is called, is a distinctive type among the pottery found in association with megalithic monuments. This ware is common to megaliths all over the south and on the basis of the date of megalithic monuments at Brahmagiri and other evidences can be placed between the third-second century B.C. and the first century A.D.[1].

At Paravai and Tovaraimān were found pyriform earthenware tombs with remains of skulls and bones and also an iron spearhead and a large number of glazed pottery similar to the finds at Anuppānaḍi.

In 1887 Mr. Bartels, the Divisional Inspector of Police, discovered at Tovaraimān[2] a large number of earthenware jars and many small earthen vessels also, all glazed inside and outside and some containing remains of bones and a skull. In one jar he also found a stone shaped like a *dart*.

Inside one of the tombs at Paravai were found a large number of beads. Mr. Rea says that these beads "are of a reddish semi-transparent material with milky streaks through them. A few are of a greenish hue, and others of white crystal. Most of them have a design in white inlaid work; the lines seem to have been graved on the surface, and the white enamel filled in".[3] An etched carnelian bead from Sirkap, Taxila, of oblique strokes, enclosed within two mar-

1. Ancient India, No. 9, pp. 109-110.
2. G.O. 1019 Pub. 1887.
3. Rea, *op.cit.*

ginal lines, has been ascribed to the first century A.D.[1] A similar design has been found on a bead from a pyriform tomb at Paravai. This evidence may help one to assign for the time being the date of the urn-burial site at Paravai to the first century A.D. till further evidence becomes available.

On the strength of the discovery of prehistoric sepulchral urns a places like Kīḻ-puliyūr, Kīḻāmbūr and Kīḻ Nattam in Tinnevelly disttrict a suggestion has been made by C. R. Krishnamacharlu[2] that prehistoric remains may be looked for at places with the prefix *kīl* which means "lower" or "eastern" in Tamil. He also gives a list of places with such names where prehistoric remains have been found. This statement may probably be held to be true in the case of the prehistoric finds at Anuppānaḍi also since this village is very near to what is known as Kīḻa-Madurai. In ancient times villages and towns seem to have been divided into two halves called *kīḻ*, *mēl* and to indicate probably the upper and lower halves or the western and eastern halves, *e.g.*. Mēla-Māttūr and Kīḻa-Māttūr, Mēlpanaṅgāḍi and Kīḻpanaṅgāḍi, Mēlkuyil-kuḍi and Kīḻkuyilkuḍi, Mēl Iraṇiyamuṭṭam and Kīḻ Iraṇiyamuṭṭam. Perhaps the western or upper part was used for human habitation and in the other half were the burial sites.

The prehistoric finds at Anuppānaḍi so near to Kīḻa Madurai would show that the area Kīḻa Madurai and the present Madurai town to the west of it, which should thus be Mēl Madurai, have been in continuous occupation by people from prehistoric times.

C. *EARLY LITHIC MONUMENTS OF THE MADURAI COUNTRY*

The Madurai country abounds in isolated hills, both high and low, with big boulders and natural caverns, often at in accessible heights and positions. Prehistoric man as well as ascetics of the *vaidika* and *avaidika* sects appear to have made use of these natural

1. B.K. Thaper, *Portolam* 1948; *Excavation of a Megalithic Urn-Burial*, Ancient India, No. 8, p. 14.

2. C.R. Krishnamacharlu, *Some Pre-historic sites in the Ramnad And Tinnevelly Districts*. A.S.I. 1936-37, p. 72.

caverns evidently for habitation or for religious purposes. The people who tesorted to these out-of-the-way places seem to have made slight alterations to the natural caves to suit their purposes. For instance, rectangular beds, often with pillow lofts, were cut out in the rock surface, narrow drip lines were made on the overhanging rock to carry off rain water from the roof and holes were cut on the rock face probably to put up a wooden structure or shelter. These caverns are popularly known as "Pañca Pāṇḍava Paḍukkai" whatever the number of stone beds may be. K.R. Srinivsan[1], while explaining the Tamil names connected with South Indian megalithic sites, opines that the term *Pāṇḍava (kuli)* may be a corruption of the word *māṇḍa-var, i.e.*, those dead or *pāḷndavar*, i.e., those who performed useless penance, as according to the belief in later times, it was considered that Ajīvikas or Jainas did penance that was "useless". Perhaps the term "Pañca Pāṇḍava paḍukkai" may have had a similar origin. When the original meaning was forgotten and the name came to be associated with the five Pāṇḍavas the prefix *pañca* might have been added to the original term *Pāṇḍava paḍukkai*.

Short Brāhmi inscriptions are found in many of these caverns either on the beds themselves or on the overhanging rock. These inscriptions have not yet been fully studied and interpreted. Similar caves with Pāli inscriptions in Brāhmi script have been found in Ceylon also, for instance, at Vessagiri.[2] But the Buddhist remains found in conjunction with the caves in Ceylon are absent in the South Indian caverns.

In Madurai district caverns with Brāhmi inscriptions have been found at more than a dozen places.[3] In South India the majority

1. K.R. Srinivasan, *The Megalithic Burials and Urn-fields of South India, Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 10.

2. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 10.

3. M.E.R: 135 of 1903. Mēlūr; 457 of 1906. Ānaimalai; 460-465 of 1906. Māṅguḷam; 38 of 1908. Varichchiyūr, 45 of 1908. Mēṭṭupaṭṭi; 333 of 1908. Tirupparankunṟām, 334 of 1908. 70, 79, of 1910. Aḻagarmalai; 55-57 of 1910. Koṅgar-Puliyankuḷam; 58-60 of 1910, 865-869 of 1917. Mēṭṭupaṭṭi; 561 of 1911. Karuṅgālakkuḍi, 621-623 of 1926. Nāgamalai Hill. A description of these caverns is found in M.E.R. 1907, Pt. II, Paras.1-4, 1908, Pt. II, paras 1-8, 1909, Pt. II, paras. 1-9, 1910, Pt. II, paras 1-5, 1912, Pt. II, paras. 1 & 2, 1918, Pt. I, paras 8 & 10, 1927, Pt. II, para 8.

of the caverns discovered so far are situated in the Madurai district. Of these, Tirupparankuṉṟam, Ānaimalai and Muttuppaṭṭi, a hamlet of Vaḍapaḷañji, are within a radius of about five miles from Madurai.

The cavern at Ānaimalai[1] is an almost inaccessible natural cave not far from the top of the rock. It is roughly 22 feet long and 18 feet broad. The height at the entrance is about 3 feet but gradually diminishes towards the interior. Inside the cavern are three double beds and one single bed at a slightly lower level, and four other beds covered with earth. A set of eight beds is also found exposed outside the cavern. All the beds vary from about six to seven feet in length and one and a quarter to about two feet in breadth. One end of each bed is a raised portion, chiselled smooth and this probably was meant as a pillow loft. On the overhanging rock is a Brāhmi inscription consisting of two lines.

At Tirupparankuṉṟam[2] there are two caverns. They are on the western slope of the hill on the steep side and are reached only by rude footholes cut into the rock. Within one cavern there are six stone beds, two big ones and four smaller ones, roughly equal in size and separated only by very thin band of stone. The two bigger ones stretch from east to west and are mutilated on their pillow sides. In the cutting of the rock on the pillow side of the smaller beds is a clear-cut legible Brāhmi inscription of one line extending to the full breadth of the beds. The cavern is a spacious one and could afford shelter to a large number of people. On the overhanging rock is chiselled a narrow drain to carry off rain water. There is a similar groove on the floor also at the broad entrance. Higher up on the hill about a hundred yards to the west of the Sikandar mosque is another small cavern with five narrow beds stretching from west to east. Modern mud and stone walls have been erected in this cavern by a Hindu mendicant who had been using this cavern.

The caverns with the old Brāhmi inscriptions have a special significance since they are the earliest lithic monuments of the Tamil country. From available evidences the stone beds seem to be as

1. M.E.R. 1907, Pt. II, para 2.
2. M.E.R. 1909, Pt. II, para 3.

old as the Brāhmi inscriptions. The script resembles that of the inscription from Bhattiprolu and palaeographically may be assigned to 3rd or 2nd century B.C.

In the Brāhmi inscriptions at Siddharmalai Hill near the village Mēṭṭupaṭṭi and Aḻagarmalai one gets what are perhaps the earliest epigraphic references to the city of Madurai. One inscription from Siddharmalai is read by H. Krishna Sastri[1] as "Ma dhi r(a)a na tai (vi) su va na." K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer[2] reads it as "*Matira Antai*" meaning "This is the bed of one belonging to Madirai."

Of the inscriptions at Aḻagarmalai, inscription A is read by H. Krishna Sastri[3] as "Ma (ta) ti (rai) yi po na ku la va na a (ta) na a t(a) na" and inscription B as "M(a) ta ti rai ko (pa) pu va ni ka na."

"The expression *Mātatirai* occurs in both A and B, the former giving........an extra consonant *y* after *rai* which is a feature of Tamil orthography", says H. Krishna Sastri.[4] Regarding the Aḻagarmalai inscriptions K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer says that the word *Mattirai* (Madirai) occurs several times in them and also the names of two persons who were *ponkulavan* and *kulavanikan*,[5] *i.e.*, "dealers in gold and grains".[6]

In these inscriptions there seems to be a clear reference to the city of Madurai though the words seem to be slightly different in form. Thus the word *Madhira* or *Matira* in the Siddharmalai inscription and the words *Matavirai* or *Matirai* occurring in the Aḻagarmalai inscriptions may be the earlier forms of the word "Madura", the present name of the city. It may be noted that the Cōḻa,

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1. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Caverns & Brahmi Inscriptions of South India*. (Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, pp. 342-43).

2. Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, p. 298.

3. H. Krishna Sastri, *op-cit*. p. 345.

4. Ibid, pp. 345-46.

5. Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, p. 299.

6. (a) Ma(ta) ti (rai)yi po naku la va na a (ta) na at (a) na.
   (b) M(a)ta ti rai ko (pa) pu va nika na.

Parāntaka I is often referred to as "Madiraikoṇḍa Kōpparakēśarivarman" in his inscriptions.

The Brāhmi records also contain some topographical references to the Madurai country which indicate the antiquity of these regions. For instance, the Ānaimalai inscription refers to the gifts by a person residing at *kuṉṟatu*. This is perhpas a reference to the place Kuṉṟattūr which is very near Ānaimalai and where there is also an early Pāṇḍya cave temple. A resident of Pākanūr is mentioned in a record from Kongarpuḷiyankuḷam. This indicates the antiquity of the Pāganūrkūṟṟam which was situtated to the west of Madurai. The Vēḷvikkuḍi village was in this division. This region seems to have been a stronghold of Brahmans and noted only for Vedic sacrifices but also seems to have been favoured by Hindu ascetics[1].

These Brāhmi inscriptions have been interpreted variously by several scholars.[2] While the language of the inscriptions in general appear to be Pāli in the Brāhmi script many letters and forms are peculiar and different and make the interpretation difficult. Both Krishna Sastri and K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer think that there were some Tamil words and forms occurring in these records. The latter says that these are probably early Tamil records. Other scholars like Dr. C. Narayana Rao[3] feel that the records are Prākṛtic and that they probably represent what is called the Paiśāci form of Prākṛt. According to Indian grammarians the old Paiśāci dialect was the prevailing language in the Pāṇḍya country.

Eighteen potsherds bearing *graffiti* were found in the Arikamēḍu excavations (1945). Except two among them, it is said that all the others may be reconstructed in Tamil and are among the earliest known examples of the language. They bear a close affinity to the short Brāhmi inscriptions found in the natural caverns of the Pāṇḍya

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1. Siddharmalai, the abode of many Hindu ascetics, was in this division. A place *Iruḍipāḷi* now corrupted into *Irumpāḷi* and meaning the *Pāḷi* or residence of *ṛṣis* was also in this region.

2. H. Krishna Sastri (Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, pp. 327-348), K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, pp. 2 ff), Dr. C. Narayana Rao (Proceedings of the Ninth Oriental Conference, pp. 863-873).

3. Proceedings of the Ninth Oriental Conference, pp. 863-73.

country and also the Māmaṇḍūr inscription (3rd c. B.C.), and the Bhattiprolu Brāhmi inscriptions (c. 200 B.C.) Since the Arikamēḍu site has been assigned to about the first century A.D., the potsherds may also have to be assigned to the same date. Thus they belong to a slightly later period than the Brāhmi inscriptions of the natural caverns, indicating thereby that there does not seem to have been much development in the South Indian script between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D.[1]

Further research may probably help settle the question of the relationship between Prākṛt and Dravidian and the origin of the Dravidian languages.

D. EARLY REFERENCES TO MADURAI

From all available evidences Madurai appears to have been ruled by the Pāṇḍyas from time immemorial. The Pāṇḍyas and their capital Madurai are mentioned in many early Indian works and *purāṇas,* thus pointing to the antiquity of Madurai and the Pāṇḍyan dynasty. The *sthalapurāṇas* state that when Agastya and many other *ṛṣis* had once gathered at Benares, Agastya was requested by his companions to narrate to them the *līlas* of Śiva on the banks of the river Vēgavati (Vaigai). In one chapter of the *purāṇa,* Agastya eulogises the greatness and glory of the city of Madurai.[2] The *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇa* states that the *Indra Vimāna* of the Mīnākṣi temple at Madurai was built under the orders of Indra. The *Kūḍal Purāṇa,* which is the *sthalapurāṇa* of the Kūḍal Aḻagar temple states that the *Aṣṭāṅga Vimāna* of the Kūḍal Aḻagar temple at Madurai was built by Viśvakarma, the divine carpenter. A divine origin is thus attributed to the two ancient temples in the city.

The Madurai country and the Pāṇḍyas find mention in the epics of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.* Kavāṭapuram, one of the early capitals of the Pāṇḍyas, is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*

1. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, Presidential Address of the Dravidian Languages and Culture Section, Proceedings of the seventeenth All India Oriental Conference, 1953, pp. 7-8.

2. Parañjōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal: Madurai Tirunagarappaḍalam*; Nambi's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal: Tirunagaraccirappu.*

Surgrīva is said to have told his followers to search for Sīta in kingdoms south of the Vindhya and to look out for "Kavāṭam Pāṇḍyānām" or the Pāṅḍya's golden gates decked with pearl and gold, on the shore of the ocean.[1] This Kavāṭapuram, later known as Koṟkai, is said to have been submerged by the sea.

In giving a list of the kingdoms to the south of the Vindhya, the poet Vālmīki includes the kingdoms of the Āndhras, the Puṇḍras, the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Kēraḷās.[2] In the *Mahābhārata* also there are many references to the Pāṇḍyas. A Pāṇḍya king is said to have been present at Draupaḍi's *svayamvara.*[3] Sahādēva proceeded on a *dig vijaya* to the south and vanquished the Drāviḍas, Cōḷas Kēraḷas and Pāṇḍyas[4]. The Pāṇḍya king is said to have taken part in the great Bhārata battle.[5] The tradition that the Pāṇḍyas participated in the great war seems to have continued for a long time since one finds it being mentioned in a Pāṇḍya copper-plate grant of the 10th century A.D., viz., the Larger Sinnamānūr plates.[6] The *Mahābhārata* further says that Arjuna during a pilgrimage (*tīrtayātra*) married Citrāṅgada, the only daughter of Citravāhana, ruler of Maṇipura.[7] This place is called Maṇalūr in the South Indian versions of the epic and is taken to refer to Maṇalūr, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas. In another place Citrāṅgada is spoken of as a Pāṇḍya princess.[8]

Kātyāyana, the grammarian of the 4th century B.C. who was probably a southerner, mentions the countries of the extreme south, Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Kēraḷa.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, while describing the trade between Northern and Southern India, speaks of the pearls and muslins of

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1. *Rāmāyana, Kiṣk: Kāṇḍ.*, 43; 13.
2. *Rāmāyana, Kiṣk. Kāṇḍ.*, 41; 42.
3. *Mahābhārata*, 1. 189. 7020.
4. Ibid, 11. 34. 1988.
5. Ibid. v. 19. 576, vi. 50. 2084, vi. 23. 1019, viii. 21. 81.
6. "Bhāratattiṟ pagaḍoṭṭiyum". (1. 96).
7. *Mahābhārata*, vii. ii. 3986, vii. i. 215. 7826.
8. Ibid, *Ādi Par.* vi. 1. 64 (Kumb. edn.)

the Pāṇḍyan country. Among the articles that entered the royal treasury Kauṭilya includes varieties of pearls from the Tāmraparṇi river in the Pāṇḍyan country, from "Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa" (which is explained in the commentary as the Malayakōṭi mountain in the same area) and from the Cūrṇā river in Kēraḷa.[1] He also mentions the cotton fabrics from Madurai (Madhuram)[2] as well as Pauṇḍraka blankets, black and soft as the surface of a gem.[3]

The astronomer Varāhamihira refers to the Pāṇḍya kingdom (*Pāṇḍyavāṭa*) in his *Bṛhatsamhita.*[4] Kāḷidāsa, the great Sanskrit poet and dramatist, refers to the Pāṇḍya kingdom as one of the provinces overrun by Raghu in his tour of conquest.[5] The above accounts indicate clearly that the Pāṇḍyas, their kingdom, and the commercial products of their country seem to have been well known outside their territory and that there were wide contacts between the Pāṇḍya country and the outside world from very early times.

The *Mahāvamśa,* the Ceylonese chronicle, contains the earliest mention made of the ancient city in a foreign literary work. The date of Buddha's *nirvāṇa* has been generally accepted as 483 B.C. The *Mahāvamśa* states that Ceylon was colonised by her first king, Prince Vijaya, who came to the island from Bengal by sea, with many followers. It is stated that he landed on the north coast of the island on the day of Buddha's *nirvāṇa.* Vijaya became king of the country after defeating and slaying the *yakka* (*yakṣa*) people in Ceylon. He then sent ambassadors to the city of Madurai in the Dakkiṇa. They "brought from Daccina Madurai the daughter of the king Pāṇḍya and about 700 daughters of the different chief men of that place, with a train of men of 18 different classes and also five different classes of workmen. The king was afterwards married to the princess, the daughter of the king Pāṇḍya, and was crowned and reigned in tranquillity in the city Tammanah 38 years".[6]

1. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, ii. 11.

2. Ibid, ii, 26, 119.

3. Ibid, Translation. p. 90. Syama Sastri, translator of the *Arthaśāstra,* says these blankets were of Pāṇḍya manufacture.

4. Dr. Kern's Edition, iv. 10.

5. *Raghuvamśa,* iv. 49.

6. Nelson, *Madura Country,* p. 47.

This reference to Madurai in the Ceylonese chronicle bears testimony to the friendly relations and contacts between Ceylon and South India as well as Northern and Southern India. Incidentally it also shows that the Pāṇḍyas had by now established themselves at Madurai which was designated Dakkina Madura, probably to distinguish it from its northern counterpart.

The Pāṇḍyas and their capital city Madurai were well known to the Ancient Greeks and Romans. The account of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador of Seleukos, at the court of Candragupta Maurya (320 B.C.), is the first direct notice of a South Indian kingdom made by the classical writers of the West. He gives a quaint and elaborate account of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, which, according to him, was governed by women. He says: "Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute".[1] This statement was probably based on some historical fact and perhaps refers to some mode of payment or tribute in kind. For example, the *Silappadikāram* refers to an instance of a cowherdess who say that it was her turn that day to supply ghee to the royal household in Madurai.[2]

Strabo (c. 25 B.C.) states that a Pāṇḍya king sent an embassy to the Roman Emperor Augustus.[3] Pliny (c.75 A.D.) mentions the Pandae, king Pandion and his "Mediterranean emporium of Modoura".[4] Ptolemy (A.D. 130) mentions Modoura, the royal city of Pandion.[5] He says that the country of the Pandoonoi was around the Bidaspes.[6] It is not clear whether this is a reference to the river Vaigai. Ptolemy shows great knowledge of the interior of the Tamil

1. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 158-159.

2. Canto 17, line 7.

3. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 9, para. 4.

4. Ibid, pp. 111-112.

5. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 183, para. 89.

6. Ibid, p. 121, para 46.

country and mentions a number of inland cities of the Pandionoi, namely, Tainour, Peringkarei, Korindiour, Tangala or Taga and Akour.[1] Tainour is probably Tēnūr in the Madurai taluk of the Madurai district, which is frequently mentioned in Saṅgam works as a flourishing town. Peringkarei may be Perunkarai on the river Vaigai about 40 miles lower down its course than Madurai. Tangala and Akour evidently refer to Taṅgāl and Okkūr in the Ramnad district which were also well-known places in the Śaṅgam age and were the home of several Tamil poets.

The earliest datable records in which allusions to the Pāṇḍyas and the Madurai city are traceable are the Aśōkan edicts and the old Brāhmi inscriptions[2] in the caverns in the Pāṇḍya country. The second and the thirteenth rock edicts of Aśōka mention the South Indian kingdoms and Ceylon.[3] The list in the second edict is more complete and includes the names of Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputa, Kēraḷaputa and Tāmbapanni (Ceylon). All these countries are distinctly stated to have lain outside the empire of Aśōka. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela makes reference to the Pāṇḍya country and to a confederacy of Tamil states (*Tramiradēśaśaṅghātam*). Kharavela ruled in Kaliṅga in about the first half of the 2nd century B.C. The epigraph records that he caused "numerous pearls in hundreds" to be brought from the Pāṇḍya to Kaliṅga and perhaps also horses, elephants, jewels and rubies.[4]

1. Ibid, page 183, para 189.
2. *Vide* Section C of this chapter.
3. E.I., Vol. II, p. 447 ff.
4. Hathigumpha inscription, J.B.O.R.S. iv. 401.

APPENDIX 1

DERIVATION OF THE TERM ' MADURAI '

Several explanations are given for the derivation of the term *Madurai*. The word is generally supposed to be the Tamil form of the name of Mathura (modern Muttra), the holy city on the Jumna in Northern India. It is also said that the name *Madurai* is derived from the Tamil word *madhuram* meaning sweetness. The *Madurai Sthalapurāṇas* state that when king Kulaśēkhra Pāṇḍya first built the city God sprinkled the whole town with drops of sweet nectar (*amṛtam*) shaken from his locks, to purify and bless the city. Hence the city came to be known as Madurai[1]. Further, the city was called "the northern Madurai" to distinguish it from a previous capital of the same name, in the exteme south of the peninsula, which is said to have been submerged by the sea. The name *Madurai* seems to have been a favourite one in early ages for we find several places so called in Ceylon and Malaya. There is a place named *Matara* in the extreme south of Ceylon, another in Burma and an island called Madura near Java. The term *Madurai* seems to have had some special significance and meaning which made it very popular in ancient times but which has been forgotten at present.

In the Pāṇḍyan kingdom itself there seems to have been a number of cities with the name Madurai. Their origin is, however, not known. *Tenmadurai*, a city in the southern part of the kingdom, is said to have been the original Pāṇḍyan capital. This city was swallowed up by the sea. Later another capital of the same name was founded in the north in the interior and this was called *Vaḍamadurai* to distinguish it from *Tenmadurai* which was lost in the sea. Perhaps this *Vaḍamadurai* was in its turn designated *Tenmadurai* to distinguish it from its counterpart in the distant north, on the banks of the Jumna. Besides, there is a place called Vaḍamadurai, near Dindigul. There is a village called Neḍumadurai about 10 miles south-west of Madura and near to this village are places called Kūḍakkōvil and Periya Kūḍakkōvil. The origin and significance of these places and place names, however, remain obscure. In many early Tamil works the city

1. Nambi's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 36, Parañjōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 3.

of Madurai is known as *Kūḍal*[1]. *Kūḍal* is a term which refers to the confluence of rivers. Many ancient cities were built at the site of river confluences which were considered ideal for building towns and capitals. Perhaps ancient Madurai was also built at the confluences of the Vaigai and one of the tributaries which may have changed its course during the lapse of centuries.

The city was also called "*Nānmāḍakkūḍal*" or "the cluster of four towers." The *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇas* explain the term in the following way:—Once when Varuṇa tried to destroy the Pāṇḍyan capital by means of a deluge of rain, God Sundarēśvara sent four clouds which joined together to form a canopy over Madurai and protected the city from destruction.[2] Hence the city came to be known as *Nānmāḍakkūḍal* in Tamil and *Catuṣkūṭa* in Sanskrit. The earliest reference to the city of Madurai as "Nānmāḍakkūḍal" occurs in the *Kalittogai*.[3]

Madurai was known by other names which testify to the great sanctity of the *kṣētra*. Madurai was once covered with *kaḍamba* forests which were cleared by Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya[4] before the city was built on well-planned lines. Hence the city was called *Kaḍambavanakṣētra*. The *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇa* states that after a deluge, God Sundarēśvara sent a serpent to point out to the Pāṇḍya king the boundaries of the original city of Madurai as it had existed before the deluge. So the city came to be known as Ālavāy[5] or *Tiruvālavāy* in Tamil and *Hālāsya* in Sanskrit. Goddess Mīnākṣi as the Pāṇḍya princess Taṭātakai had ruled over Madurai when she was a maiden. So the city came to be known as *Kannipuram* or *Kanyakāpuram*. The city is also known as *Samaṣṭividyānagari*, *Sivanagaran*, *Dvādaśāntastalam*, *Jīvanmuktipuram* and *Bhūlōkaśivalōkam*.

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1. *Agam* 93, 149; *Puram* 347; *Kalittogai* 27, 30, 31,57, 92; *Silappadikāram* 30. 149 and others.
2. Nambi's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 12; Parañjōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 19.
3. *Kalittogai*, 92. 65.
4. Nambi's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 53; Parañjōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 3.
5. Nambi's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 47; Parañjōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* No. 49.

APPENDIX 2

THE TIRUVILAIYADAL LEGENDS

The great temple at Madurai is considered one of the holiest of Siva temples. Śiva as God Sundarēśvara is said to have performed 64 *līlas* here. These are narrated in various *sthalapurāṇas* pertaining to the Madurai temple. They have been written in various languages in different periods and vary from the most elaborate versions such as Parañjōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇa* to the *Tiruvuśāttāna Nānmāṇimālai* which devotes just a line or two for each *līla*. Some of the most important among these are Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr Nambi's *Tiruvālavāyudaiyār Tiruviḷaiyādarpurāṇam* whose Sanskrit original, *Sarasamuccayam*, a section of *Uttaramahāpurāṇam*, is not available at present, and *Hālāsya Māhātmya*, a Sanskrit work based on which Parañjōti Munivar wrote the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍarpurāṇam*. Though Parañjōti has closely followed the Sanskrit original there are many differences between the two and his work is not a mere translation. For instance, his division of the work into three cantos, *Madurai*, *Kūḍal* and *Ālavāy kāṇḍams* is not found in the Sanskrit version. Nambi's work may be assigned to about the 12th-13th c. while Parañjōti's was written in the 16th-17th cs.

Kallāḍam, a work of about the 9th c. A.D. is perhaps the earliest to attempt a collective narration of the *līlas*. It narrates about 30 *līlas* though it makes mention of a total of 64 *līlas*. In earlier works of the Śaṅgam and Post-Śaṅgam period and in the *Dēvāram* hymns there are many stray references to various *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* legends such as the incident of the Pāṇḍya driving back the sea with his spear.

The works which narrate all the 64 *līlas* may be broadly divided into two classes according to the order in which the *līlas* are arranged. Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr Nambi has arranged the *līlas* in a certain order, while Parañjōti Munivar has followed another order in his *Tiruviaiḷyādarpurāṇam*.

Works which follow Nambi's order are :- The *Līlāsaṅgraha* chapter of *Kaḍambavanapurāṇa* written by Vīmanātha Paṇḍitar and based on the Sanskrit *Kaḍambavanapurāṇam* or *Nīpāraṇyamāhātmya*, *Tiruviḷai*

yāḍarpayakaramālai and *Tiruvuśāttānaṉāṉmaṇimālai* Purāṇattirumalai Nādār's *Maduraiccokkanādar Ulā* and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣitar's Sanskrit work *Śivalīḷārṇava*, follow Parañjōti's order of arrangment.

Other works in which the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* are narrated are Andāri's *Sundara Pāṇḍiyam* based on a Sanskrit work of the same name *Aṣṭamipradakṣiṇa Mānmyam* (both in Sanskrit and Tamil) and *Maduraikkalambakam* of Kumaraguruparar. There are many differences between Nambi's and Parañjōti's works. For instance, several *līlas* in Nambi's work are omitted in the latter and one *līla* of the former is split into three in the latter. While Nambi casually mention only a few names of Pāṇḍya kings, Parañjōti's work and the *Hālāsy-Māhātmya* mention a list of 72 Pāṇḍya kings which is of doubtful historical value. Parañjōti appears to have attempted some chronos logical arrangement of the *līlas* but it is not clear at present how far he has succeeded.

A large number of the *līlas* such as those connected with Tirujñānasambandar, the Jains, Māṇikkavācaka and the Cēras and the Cōḷas, are legends gathered round actual historical events. But at present it is difficult to separate the fact from the fiction completely. Apart from these minor and perhaps major dieffrences, there is much similarity and uniformity about the *līlas*.

CHAPTER III

MADURAI IN THE SANGAM AGE

A. AGE AND HISTORICITY OF THE ŚAṄGAM

Madurai was famous as a seat of learning in very early times Tradition says that the Pāṇḍya capitals were the home, at different times, of three different Tamil Śaṅgams, *i.e.*, academies of learned men. The first of these was at the old capital of Tenmadurai which was submerged in the sea, the second at Kavāṭapuram which was also swept under the sea and the third at the present town of Madurai called Vaḍamadurai to distinguish it from the Tenmadurai lost in the sea. There is a persistent tradition in the *Madurai Sthala-purāṇas* and Pāṇḍya epigraphs that a Pāṇḍya capital was affected by several deluges. It is said that during one such deluge the whole city was destroyed except the temple and the surrounding parts which were known as *Naḍuvūr*.[1] Again it is said that once when *Paḻa-madurai* (old Madurai City) was about to be destroyed by the sea the Pāṇḍya threw his spear into the sea which then receded and laved the feet of the king. Hence he got the title Vaḍimbalamba-ninṟa Pāṇḍyan[2]. The Larger Śinnamānūr Plates state that the ocean, even when agitated at the end of the *kalpa*, bore the form of the Pāṇḍya's foot-stool[3]. "At the end of the previous *kalpa*, it it stated, there was a powerful king named Pāṇḍya who was ruling at the entrance into the sea (*i.e.*, on the coast of a gulf) and that the very same king at the beginning of the current *kalpa*, was born as Budha, the son of the Moon". The above references would show that while the Pāṇḍya territory was perhaps subjected often to

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1. Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyāḍal*, No. 47; Parañjōti's *Tiruvilaiyāḍal*, No. 4.

2. Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyāḍal*, No. 21; Parañjōti's *Tiruvilaiyāḍal*, No. 13; Larger Sinnamānūr Plates's 11. 90-91; Smaller Sinnamānūr Plates, 11. 9-10; Parāntaka Pāṇḍya's *meykīrti*. T.A.S. Vol. I, p. 18 ff.

3. Verse 1.

4. Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, v. 4. E.I. Vol. XVII, p. 293, 304; Verse 5 of the Madrar Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman also states that the Pāṇḍya had survived the disas-tes of the great *kalpa*.

ravages by the sea, owing perhaps to its proximity to the sea, the Pāṇḍyas were quite able to maintain their mastery over the seas.

The submission of the ocean to the Pāṇḍyas seems to have been a strong family tradition owing perhaps to their sea-girt kingdom their naval power and their sea-borne trade from the earliest historical times. These accounts probably testify also to the fact that the Pāṇḍyas had their earlier capitals on the sea coast and that these had to be shifted from time to time owing to the ravages caused by natural forces. The change of capital of the Pāṇḍyan kings is corroborated by Pliny who refers to the transfer of capital from Koṛkai to Madurai[1]. The *Śilappadikāram*[2] and the *Kalittogai*[3] state that a portion of the Pāṇḍya country was swallowed by the sea. It is said that the seat of the middle or second Śaṅgam was Kavāṭapuram. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] and the *Artaśāstra*[5] refer to a Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa. Hence the available evidence shows that the Pāṇḍyas had various capitals at different times. Probably the change of the Pāṇḍya capitals led to the belief that there were three different academies.

The whole question of the age and historicity of the Tamil Śaṅgam has given rise to a great deal of controversy. The earliest available account of the three Śaṅgams occurs in the introduction to the commentary on *Iṛaiyanār's Agapporuḷ* (c.A.D. 650).[6] It states that three Śaṅgams lasted for 9,990 years altogether and that 8,598 poets were their members and that 197 Pāṇḍyan kings were their patrons. It states that the Pāṇḍyas founded three Śaṅgams or academies--the first, middle and the last. The first Śaṅgam which was at Tenmadurai was headed by Agattiyanār, had 549 members, included 4,449 poets and lasted for 4,400 years. It was patronised by 89 kings from Kāyśina Vaḻudi to Kaḍuṅgōn. After Tenmadurai was swallowed by the sea, the second or middle Śaṅgam was founded at Kavāṭapuram. It had 59 members such as Agastya and Tolkāppiyanār, included 3,700 poets and lasted for 3,700 years. Its patrons were 59 Pāṇḍya kings

1. Warmington, *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 167.
2. Canto xi, ll. 17-22.
3. *Mullaikkali*, 104; 1-4.
4. *Kiṣk. Kāṇḍ.* ch. 41-19.
5. ii, ch. 11.
6. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai: *Ilakkiya Dīpam*, pp. 28, 101.

from Veṇḍērcceḻiyan to Muḍattirumāṟan. After Kavāṭapuram was lost in the sea Muḍattirumāran made Vaḍamadurai or modern Madurai his capital and set up the third Śaṅgam which had 49 members including Nakkīrar, Marudanilanāganār and others. There were 449 poets and some of the works composed were *Neḍuntogai*, *Kuṟuntogai*, *Puṟanānūṟu*, *Kalittogai* and others. The Śaṅgam lasted for 1,850 years and was patronised by 49 kings from Muḍattirumāṟan to Ugraperuvaḻudi. This account seems too legendary and artificial to be accepted completely.

The traditional story of the origin of the Śaṅgam as given in the *Sthalapurāṇas*[1], is equally legendary and does not help much in solving the problem. Obviously both the accounts are an admixture of fact and fiction for eulogising the glory and greatness of the Śaṅgam. Since the idea of an organised literary academy was not a strange one in ancient India, a Tamil academy might in all probability have existed in Tamiḻagam, patronised by all the Tamil kings and perhaps to a greater degree by the Pāṇḍya kings. Possibly three stages in the growth of this academy, along with the change of the Pāṇḍya capitals might have led to the belief that there were three different academies at different times. But there is not much proof of the progressive evolution of the Śaṅgam. Most of the extant Śaṅgam works belong to what is commonly known as the third Tamil Śaṅgam said to have flourished at the present city of Madurai.

The word *śaṅgam* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *śaṅgha*. While line 762 (*puṇarkūṭṭuṇḍ apugaḻ śūl*) of the *Maduraikkāñci* may by taken to be a reference to some kind of literary academy, the actual usage of the term *śaṅgam* does not occur in the earlier of the extant Śaṅgam works. It probably came into popular use after the establishment of a Jaina Drāviḍa Śaṅgha at Madurai by Vajranandi in A.D. 470[2], and after the rise to prominence of Jainism and Buddhism in the Tamil country. The *Maṇimēkalai* refers to a Buddha Śaṅgha in the Tamil country[3]. These *śaṅghas* refer to religious organisations and do not refer to any literary academy. Probably in the contest between the Śaiva cults and Jainism and Buddhism in

1. Parañjōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal*, No. 51.
2. J.B.B.A.S. Vol. XVII, pt. 1, No. xlvi, p. 74.
3. *Maṇimēkalai*, vii: 113-114.

about the 5th-6th centuries A.D. the word *śaṅgha* was also taken up and used by the Hindus and transformed to denote the Tamil academy.

The phrases that one gets in Tamil making use of the term *śaṅgam* are such words as *śaṅgamaḷi Tamiḻ*[1]. *śaṅgamugattamiḻ*[2], and *śaṅgattamiḻ*[3]. Here too the term *śaṅga* seems to mean Tamil verse or poetry. Appar (7th century A.D.), the earliest of the *Dēvāram* trio, states that Tarumi, a poor poet, was helped by Śiva to gain a purse of gold in the Śaṅgam[4]. This is probably the earliest instance of the term *śaṅgam* being used in the sense of a literary academy. The Larger Sinnamānūr plates while speaking about the achievements of the early Pāṇḍyas, credit the Pāṇḍyas with proficiency in Tamil and Sanskrit[5], the translation of the *Mahābhārata*[6], into Tamil and the establishment of the Śaṅgam in the town of Madhurāpuri[7].

The beginnings of the Tamil Śaṅgam go back to 9000 B.C. according to the account in the introduction to *Iṟaiyanār's Agapporuḷ*. This date seems to be too early to be accepted. If a careful study is made of the synchronisms between the kings, chieftains and poets suggested by the colophons at the end of many of the poems in the extant Śaṅgam works, one finds that the bulk of the literature refers to occurrences within a period of from about 100 to 250 years. Thus all available evidences indicate that the Śangam Age may be taken to have flourished during the early centuries of the Christian era.

The extant Śangam works consist mostly of schematic anthologies such as the *Eṭṭuttogai*, which includes *Naṟṟiṇai*, *Kuṟuntogai*,

1. Jñānasambandar, Tiruttēvūr *Dēvāram*, ii. 10: 3-4; Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār-*Periya Tirumoḻi*. iii. 9-10.

2. Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār, *Periya Tirumoḻi*. iii. 4-10.

3. Āṇḍāḷ. *Tiruppāvai* 30. 1.5.

4. *Dēvāram Tirupputtūr Tiruttāṇḍagam* 2: 2.

5. Lines 94-95.

6. Ibid. 1. 102.

7. Ibid, 11. 102-103 "Madhurāpuric caṅgam vaittum".

Ainguṟunūṟu, *Padiṟṟuppattu*, *Paripāḍal*, *Kalittogai*, *Aganānūṟu*, *Puṟanānūṟu*, and the "Ten Idylls" or *Pattuppāṭṭu* as well as the *Tolkāppiyam*, a comprehensive grammatical treatise. Most of these work may be approximately assigned to the period c. 100-300 A.D.[1] while the *Tolkāppiyam*, *Kalittogai* and *Paripāḍal* appear to be about a century later.

B. PĀṆḌYA KINGS OF THE SANGAM AGE

According to tradition 49 Pāṇḍyan kings ruled during the third Śangam period[2]. From the extant Tamil works of the Śangam Age about twenty names of Pāṇḍya kings and princes could be gathered. Some of the kings appear to be notable figures in whose time many interesting and important events took place. The Pāṇḍyan kings of the Śangam period were liberal patrons of learning and some of them were poets of no mean order themselves.

Neḍiyōn or *Vaḍimbalambaninṟa Pāṇḍyan*: Among the twenty and odd names of kings available, Neḍiyōn or Vaḍimbalambannṟa Pāṇḍya[3] seems to be the earliest. He is an almost mythical figure whose achievements are mentioned in the *Sthalapurāṇas* of Madurai.[4] Tradition says that Neḍiyōn brought the Pahṟuḷi river into existence and instituted a sea festival. Poet Neṭṭimaiyār mentions the river Pahṟuḷi of Neḍiyōn, the sea festivals celebrated by him, and his gifts of gold to *vayiriyar* or minstrels.[5] Both the Larger and Smaller Śinnamanūr plates[6] mention a Pāṇḍya who threw the spear into the sea to drive it back. Probably the king referred to here is Vaḍimbalambaninṟa Pāṇḍya.

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1. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Ilakkiya Dipam*, pp. 4-12, 73-74, 77, 80, 103, 107.

2. Introduction to *Iraiyanār's Agapporul*.

3. *Puram* 9; *Maduraikkanci*, 11.61, 763; *Silappadikaram*, 22: 60; 15: 1-2;28: 3; Parantaka Pandya's *meykirti*, 11, 5-6 in T.A.S. Vol. I, p. 18 ff.

4. Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyadal* No. 21. Here the poet says that in the reign of Ugracceliyan, *Palamadurai* was threatened by the sea and that the king threw his spear into the sea and curbed it and that the waves then washed his feet. So he came to be known as Vadimbalambaninrạn. This incident is mentioned in Paranjoti's *Tiruvilaiyadal* and the *Halasya Mahatmya* as the 13th *lila*.

5. *Puram* 9.

6. Larger Sinnamanur plates, ll. 90-91; Smaller Sinnamanur plates, ll.9-10

Muḍattirumāṟan: He is the author of *Naṟṟiṇai* 105 and 228. Tradition states that he lived at the end of the second Tamil Śangam and that after Kavāṭapuram was lost in the sea, he came north and made Maṇalūr as the Pāṇḍya capital and that soon afterwards he founded Madurai city and established the third Śangam.

Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumip - Peruvaḷudi: The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant calls this king Palyāga Mudukuḍumip Peruvaḷudi[1]. From *Puṟam* it may be inferred that Neḍiyōn was his ancestor but it is not known what distance of time separated these two rulers. Mudukuḍumi appears to have been an ardent patron of the *vaidīka* religion and of Vedic scholars. The title *Palyāgaśālai* or *Palśālai* indicates that he either performed many sacrifices or helped the performance of sacrifices[2]. He granted the village of Vēḷvikkuḍi to Naṟkoṟṟan of Koṟkai to help him complete a *yāga*[3].

Mudukuḍumip-Peruvaḷudi was noted for his generosity and his liberal gifts of gold to the *virali*, the *vayiriyar*[4] and other minstrels. He is praised by three contemporary poets in five short poems in *Puram*[5]. He appears to have been a great conqueror who ruled over a large territory[6] and had powerful armies.

Kārikiḷār says that "the king's umbrella is lowered only when circumambulating the temple of the three-eyed God"[7]. Besides being one of the earliest references to Śiva in Tamil literature,

1. Velvikkudi grant 11.32, 109-110.

2. *Puram* 15 refers to the many big *yagas* which were performed in his day. The Smaller Sinnamanur plates refer to the thousand sacrifices performed by a Pandya ancestor (1.10). This is most probably a reference to Mudukudumip Peruvaludi.

3. Velvikkudi grant, 11.31-39, 106-111.

4. *Puram* 9, 15 and 64.

5. Nettimaiyar, *Puram* 9,12, 15; Nedumpalliyattanar, *Puram* 64; Karikilar, *Puram* 6.

6. Karikilar, *Puram* 6, 11.1-4.

7. *Puram* 6. 17-8.

this also shows that the king was deeply religious and was a devout Saiva. The poet himself appears to be a devotee of Śiva.[1]

All available evidences show that Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumip Peruvaḻudi was one of the greatest of the early Pāṇḍya kings. He was one of the ancestors of the victor of Talaiyālangānam[2]. But it is not known when exactly Mudukuḍumi occupied the Pāṇḍya throne.[3]

Paśumpūṭ-Pāṇḍyan: There are several references to this king and a number of poets have sung about him.[4] He seems to have been a great warrior and conqueror and had the title "he who conquered many lands".[5] The most significant event of his regin appears to be his conquest of Adigan[6] and Kongar.[7] The king's capital city was Kūḍal (Madurai)[8]. Since Paśumpūṭ Pāṇḍyan has been sung by Nakkīrar and his father Maduraikkaṇakkāyanār he

1. The poet's name reminds one of Kari Nayanar, one of the sixtythree Saiva saints mentioned in the *Periya Puranam* and of the poet Kariyar who, along with Nariyar, came to Madurai to worship Siva, and for whose sake Siva performed a *lila* at Madurai. Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyadal* No. 52.

2. *Maduraikkanci*. 11. 759-61.

3. K.N. Sivaraja Pillai in *The Chronology of the Early Tamils* assigns him to 75-100 A.D. and says that he was the same as Peruvaludi who died in the Velliyambalam.

4. Ilattup Pūdan Devanār, *Agam* 231; Nakkirar, *Agam* 253; *Narrinai* 358; Paranar, *Agam* 162; *Kuruntogai* 393; Maduraikkanakkayanar, *Agam* 338;

5. *Agam* 253, "Nādupalatanda Pasumput Pandiyan".

6. *Agam* 162: 18-22. Adigan referred to here was a chief of the Āy country in the region of the Podiyil mountains in the extreme south of the Tamil country. From the description given in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. 75 A.D.) it is seen that the Āy country was included in the Pandyan kingdom, though its name is not specifically mentioned (W. H. Schoff, *Ed. The Periplus of the Erythrāean Sea*, para 53-55, 58-59). Ptolemy (130 A.D.) mentions the 'Aioi' country (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*: Section 9, pp. 53-54). After his defeat by the Pandya king, the Āy chief Adigan appears to have become his feudatory since *Kuruntogai* 393 refers to him as the Pandya's "Vinaival Adigan" and says that he fought for the Pandya king against the Kongar. Perhaps the Āys continued to rule in their country as the feudatories or allies of the Pandyas.

7. *Agam* 253; *Kuruntogai*, 393.

8. *Agam* 231, 253.

may be assigned to the period immediately preceding the reign of Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālangānam. Most probably he was the immediate predecessor of Neḍuñjeḻiyan.

It is not known if Pāṇḍyan Pannāḍu Tandān, the author of *Kuṟuntogai* 370, who ordered the compilation of *Naṟṟiṇai*, is the same as Paśumpūṭ Pāṇḍyan.

Talaiyālangānattuccerуvenṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyan: Neḍuñjeliyan, the victor of Talaiyālangānam, may easily be called the most renowned Pāṇḍya king of the Śangam age. He may be assigned to the beginning of the 3rd c A.D.[1] Māngudi Marudanār and Nakkīrar have each written a poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* in praise of this king, besides several minor pieces in the *Puṟam* and *Agam*[2]. Several other poets have also sung about this king[3].

Neḍuñjeḻiyan was a great conqueror renowned for his heroism. He came to the throne as a youth[4]. Soon after his accession, the Cēra and Cōḷa kings as well as many Tamil chieftains tried to form a confederacy against him, taking advantage of his tender age. The enemies invaded his kingdom and seem to have penetrated almost as far inside as the capital city itself. The Pāṇḍya king defeated them in a battle, probably outside the walls of the city[5] and then pursued them far into their own dominions. The decisive battle took place at Talaiyālangānam, about eight miles northwest of Tiruvārūr in Tanjore District. The seven enemies who were defeated in the battle of Talaiyālangānam were the Cēra and Cōḷa kings[6] and five

1. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai *Ilakkiya Dipam* p. 43 ff.

2. Mangudi Marudanar: *Maduraikkanci*, *Puram* 24, 26, 372; Nakkirar *Nedu. nalvadai*, *Agam*, 36, 57, 253, 266; *Narrinai* 358.

3. Idaikkunrūr Kilār, *Puram* 76, 77, 78, 79: Kallādanār, *Puram* 23, 25, 371- *Agam* 209; Paranar, *Agam* 116; Podumbil Kilār Maganār, *Narrinai* 387; Kudapulaviyanār, *Puram* 18, 19; Ālambēri Sāttnār, *Agam* 47 and 175.

4. *Puram* 72, 77, 78.

5. *Agam*, 116.

6. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai in *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (*p.* 84) says that Nedunjeliyan ascended the throne a few years before the death of Karikālh Cola and that after his victory at Talaiyalanganam the Pandya was friendly with the great Cola.

minor chieftains. The Cēra contemporary of the Pāṇḍya was Sēy who was surnamed "Yānaikkaṇ" ("the elephant eye"). The five chieftains were Tiḍiyan, Eḻini, the chief of Erumaiyūr, Irungōvēṇ-mān and Porunan.[1] The victory of the young Pāṇḍya king was so decisive that it made a very lasting impression on the minds of the people. There are many references to this victory by contemporary as well as later poets.[2] By the time the Larger Śinnamānūr plates were issued in the 10th century the memory of the battle had become almost a legend so that this victory was enumerated along with many other deeds of the ancestral Pāṇḍya kings.[3]

There are also references to other battles and conquests by Neḍuṇ-jeḻiyan besides the famous victory won by him. It is said that the Cēra king Sēy was taken captive after the battle of Talaiyālangānam and imprisoned by the Pāṇḍya king. The Cēra king, however, managed to escape.[4] Neḍuñjeḻiyan appears to have pursued him upto the shores of the Western sea and defeated him in a battle near the Cēra port of Muśiṟi and brought away an image (*pāvai*)[5]. The Pāṇḍya also defeated the people of Kuṭṭanāḍu[6]. Aḻumbil Vēḷ, perhaps one of the feudatory chiefs of the Cēra, was dispossessed of his lands.[7]

Neḍuñjeḻiyan also conquered Miḻalaikkūṟṟam from Vēḷ Evvi and Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam from the Tonmudir Vēḷir[8]. Formerly these two *kūṟṟams* were divisions in Pudukkōṭṭai and Arantāngi (Tanjore District) and Tiruvāḍānai (Ramnad District) Taluks. The *Maduraikkāñci* also refers to Neḍunjeḻiyan's capture of the town

1. Nakkirar, *Agam*, 36: 13-22.

2. *Maduraikkanci*; ll. 125-129; *Agam* 175, 209; *Puram* 19, 26, 76, 371, 372; *Narrinai* 387.

3. The Larger Sinnamanur plates (ll. 100-102) state that the Pandya king won the victory of Talaiyalanganam against two kings who were his equals.

4. *Puram* 17.

5. Nakkirar, *Agam* 57 and Tāyankannanār, *Agam* 149.

6. *Maduraikkanci*, l. 105.

7. Ibid. l. 345.

8. Māngudi Marudanār, *Puram* 24: 18-23. Paranar in *Agam* 266 refers to the defeat of Evvi, the chieftain of Nīdūr, by Pasumput Porundalar. It is not clear whether this is also a reference to Nedunjeliyan's victory over Evvi.

Śāliyūr named after the paddy[1] and his taking the rich town of Muduveḷḷilai.[2] The king is called the Lord of Koṟkai and the warlord of the southern Paradavar[3]. The *Maduraikkāñci* also contains a full length description of the city of Madurai and of the Pāṇḍya country under Neḍuñjeḻiyan's rule.

Neḍunjeḻiyan was not only a great conqueror but also a patron of the Vēdas, Brahmans and Vēdic scholars. He helped the performance of Vēdic sactifices[4]. The king was a great patron of poets and has been eulogised by many famous poets like Māngudi Marudanār, Nakkīrar, Praṇar and Kallāḍar. Tradition says that Nakkīrar was the head of the third Śangam but the king himself says[5] that Māngudi Marudan was the leading poet of his court. Both the poets have sung quite lengthy poems in paraise of the king in *Pattuppāṭṭu*[6]. Most probably the traditional account is also true. Māngudi Marudan might have been the leading poet in the early part of the king's reign. Perhaps Nakkīrar succeeded to the position after Marudan's death and was the leading poet in the later years of the king's reign.

Śittiramāḍattuttuñjiya Nanmāṟan: He has been sung by Śittala Śāttanār in *Puṟam* 59. It is not certain whether he is the same as Ilanjeḻiyan and whether he took the title Nanmāṟan after ascending the throne. His name indicates that he died in a Citramāḍam.

Ilavandikaippaḷḷittuñjiya Nanmāṟan: He has been sung by as many as five poets[7], including Nakkīrar and Marudan Iḷanāganār. This king has been praised as well as censured[8], by the poets.

1. Lines 87-8.
2. Lines 119-24. This town is not identifiable.
3. *Maduraikkanci*. 11. 138 and 144.
4. *Puram* 26: 12-15.
5. *Puram* 72.
6. *Maduraikkanci* by Mangudi Marudan and *Nedunalvadai* by Nakkirar.
7. Nakkirar, *Puram* 56, Marudan Ilanaganar, *Puram* 55; Avūr Mūlankilār, *Puram* 196; Bēri Sāttanār, *Puram* 198 and Karikkannanār of Kavirippūmpattinam *Puram* 57.
8. The king has been censured by Āvūr Mūlankilār (*Puram* 196) and Bēri Sāttanār (*Puram* 198) for his illiberality. It is not known how far this was justified.

Nakkīrar compares the king and his good qualities to the gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Balarāma and Muruga.[1] The poet also says that the king drank out of gold vessels, wine brought in flasks by the Yavanas[2].

Nakkīrar has sung about the victor of Talaiyālangānam and the Pāṇḍya who died in the Ilavandigaippaḷḷi[3]. Marudan Iḷanāgan, the son of Māṅguḍi Marudan, has also sung about the latter[4]. Hence Ilavandigaippaḷḷittuñjiya Nanmāṟan may be assigned to the period immediately following that of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. It is not known whether he was his son and successor. Marudan Iḷanāgan has sung about Ilavandigaippaḷḷittuñjiya Nanmāṟan and Kūḍakārat-tut-tuñjiya Māṟan Vaḻudi[5]. Hence both may be assigned to about the same period and they may have succeeded to the throne at short intervals. Probably Māṟan Vaḻudi was the later of the two. Veḷḷi-yambalattut-tuñjiya Peruvaḻudi may also be taken to belong to the same age since both he[6] and the Pāṇḍya who died in the Ilavandi-gaippaḷḷi[7], have been sung by Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāvirippūm-paṭṭinam.

Kūḍakārattut-tuñjiya Māṟan Vaḻudi: This king has been sung by Aiyūr Mūḍavanār[8] and Marudan Iḷanāgan[9]. The latter states that the king caused the northern kings ("*vadapula mannar*") to "fade away" or in other words, that he conquered them.

Veḷḷiyambalattut-tuñjiya Peruvaḻudi: He was a contemporary and a fiend of the Cōḷa King Kurāppaḷḷit-tuñjiya Peruntirumāva-ḷavan. Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam has sung about the two kings as they were seated together. The poet compares the Pāṇḍya to Viṣṇu and the Cōḷa to Baladēva and says that they

1. *Puram* 56: 1-16. The king has also been compared to Vishnu in *Puram* 57, and to Siva in *Puram* 55 by other poets.

2. *Puram* 56, 11. 17-20.

3. *Puram* 56.

4. *Puram* 55.

5. *Puram* 52.

6. *Puram* 58.

7. *Puram* 57.

8. *Puram* 57.

9. *Pnram* 52.

looked like Viṣṇu and Baladēva[1]. While the Cōla is referred to as the king of Uṟaiyūr, the Pāṇḍya is called the king of Kūḍal (Madurai) noted for its Tamil[2].

Ugrapperuvaḻudi who took Kānappēr : This Pāṇḍya king subdued Vēngai Mārban, the chieftain of Kānappēr[3] (Kāḷaiyārkōil). He has been sung by Auvaiyār[4] and Aiyūr Mūlankiḻār[5]. The king himself was a poet and composed *Agam* 26 and *Naṟṟiṇai* 98. Auvaiyār has sung about this king on the occasion when he was seated together with the Cēra King Mārivenkō and the Cōḷa Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi. This shows that the three kings were contemporaries. Further it also indicates that the three Tamil kings had friendly relations at that time. Since Bēri Sāttanār has sung about Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi and Ilavandigaippaḷḷittuñjiya Nanmāṟan, Ugrapperuvaḻudi may also be assigned to the period immediately following that of Neduñjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālangānam[6].

Karungai Oḷvāḷ Perumpeyar Vaḻudi : He has been sung by Irumbiḍarttalaiyār[7], the uncle of the Cōḷa Karikāṟ-Peruvaḷattān. Hence one may assign this king to about the same period as the Cōḷa Karikāla or slightly earlier. The poem calls the Pāṇḍyas as the Kauriyar, praises the king for his charity and says that the Pāṇḍya queen was a model of chastity.

While there are references to many other names of the Pāṇḍya kings of the Sangam period it is not clear where they could be placed

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1. *Puram* 58: 14-17.
2. Ibid 1. 13 "Tamil Kelu Kūdal".
3. *Puram* 21, 367.
4. *Puram* 367.
5. Puram 21.
6. Ugrapperuvaludi is believed to be the contemporary of Tiruvalluvar, the author of *Kural*. Tradition says that he caused the anthology of the *Agangnūru* to be made, with the help of Rudrasanmar, the son of Uppūrikudi Kilār. He is also considered to be the last Pandya king of the third Sangam. It is said that the Sangam did not continue to function after his time. From the available evidences these statements appear to be incorrect.
7. *Puram* 3.

chronologically. Some of these names may even pertain to Pāṇḍya princes and members of the royal family who did not actually reign as kings.

Pāṇḍyan Aṛivuḍai Nambi: Since he has been sung by Piśirāndaiyār, the great friend of Kōpperuñjōḷa, both these kings may be taken to be contemporaries. Piśirāndaiyār advises this Pāṇḍya king on the economy of moderation of taxation[1]. Aṛivuḍai Nambi is also the author of a number of small poems[2], which indicate his wisdom.

Bhūtappāṇḍiyan who took Ollaiyūr : Little is known about this king apart from what one can gather from his own compositions[3]. One poem says that he was a loving huband, that his queen was highly cultured, that many princes and chieftains were his friends and that he placed a high value on friendship[4]. He was a great warrior. He conquered Ollaiyūr[5]. On his death his queen committed *sati.*[6]

Āryappaḍaikaḍanda Neḍuñjeḷiyan : As his name indicates he won a victory against an Āryan army. Nothing further is known about the Āryans who were defeated by this king. It is believed that the tragedy of Kōvalan's death at Madurai occurred in his reign, causing the king to die of a broken heart.[7] His queen, Kōpperundēvi, did not survive her husband and died immediately afterwards. A short poem written by this king[8] puts learning above birth and caste. His son Śeḷiyan, also called Veṛṛivēṛ-Ceḷiyan or Iḷañjeḷiyan, was the viceroy of Koṛkai which was the chief Pāṇḍya sea-port as well as a secondary capital.

Iḷamperuvaḻudi who died in the Sea : He was the author of *Paripāḍal* 15 and *Puṛam* 182[9]. Hence he may be assigned to about the

1. *Puram* 184.
2. *Puram* 188, *Agam* 28, *Kuruntogai* 230 and *Narrinai* 15.
3. *Puram* 71, *Agam* 25.
4. *Puram* 71. His friends were Māran of Maiyal, on the banks of the Vaigai, Āndai of Eyil, Anduvan Sāttan, Ādan Alisi and Iyakkan.
5. Oliyamangalam in Pudukkottai.
6. *Puram* 246, 247.
7. *Silappadikaram* epilogue to Canto II.
8. *Puram* 183.
9. *Narrinai* 55 and 56 are written by a Peruvaludi. It is not known whether he is the same as Ilamperuvaludi.

4th-5th century A.D., the age of *Paripadāl*. The *Puṟam* poem beginning "*Uṇḍālamma*" shows the great wisdom of this king. *Paripāḍal* 15 is in honour of Viṣṇu and describes the Tirumāliruñjolai hill near Madurai. The poem shows that the king was a devout Vaiṣṇava.

Nalvaḻudi: Nalvaḻudi, the author of *Paripāḍal* 12, may also be assigned to the age of the *Paripāḍal*. The poem is in praise of river Vaigai.

The other Pāṇḍyas whose names occur in the Śangam works are Nambi Neḍuñjeliyan[1], Aṇḍar Magan Kuṟuvaḻudi[2], Mālai Māṟan[3], and Māṟan Vaḻudi[4].

C. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE SANGAM AGE

1. Government

While monarchy was the form of government, the Pāṇḍya king was far from being an irresponsible autocrat. He was guided by the principles laid down in the *Dharma Śāstras*[5], and listened to the advice of his wise ministers and poets. There is a reference to a *Nāṟperuṅkuḻu*[6], in the *Maduraikkāñci*. The commentator takes this to be a reference to the *Aimperuṅkuḻu* which is generally taken to mean a council of five ministers. He says that since *kāvidis* or ministers had already been mentioned earlier in the poem[7], only the other four members of the *Aimperuṅkuḻu* were being referred to here by the poet as the *Nāṟperuṅkuḻu*. It is not clear whether this is the correct interpretation of the term or whether the term refers to a body distinct from the *Aimperuṅkuḻu* which was commonly associated with the government in the ancient Tamil kingdoms. The

1. *Puram* 239.
2. Author of *Puram* 345, *Agam* 228 and *Kuruntogai* 345.
3. Author of *Kuruntogai* 245.
4. Author of *Narrinai* 97 and 301.
5. *Maduraikkanci* 11. 191-92.
6. Ibid 11. 507-10.
7. Ibid 11. 493-99.

kāvidis appear to be ministers in charge of accounts. The *Maduraikkāñci* mentions that the king's ministers lived in large and luxurious mansions[1] and that they were watchful of the cause of rectitude. Brahmans often acted as mediators and ambassadors and were sent on missions from one royal court to another[2].

In the king's court of justice equity[3] was dealt out impartially as though weighed with a pair of scales. The *Avaiyattār* or assembly called parties to dispute and decided after full enquiry. An instance of this kind is mentioned by Maduraittamiḻakkūttan Kaḍuvan Maḷḷanār[4]. The poets also often advised the king to rule justly and impartially. One poet stresses the need for impartiality in the king's justice and for valour, grace and liberality in his conduct.[5] Another poet contrasts the good effects of moderate taxation with disadvantages of heavy exactions.[6]

In administratinon the lot system seems to have been in vogue for certain purposes, as may be inferred from a poem which refers to picking out *ōlais* or cadjan leaves from a pot and taking oaths thereon[7].

2. Madurai City in the Sangam Age

A careful examination of the available descriptions of Madurai in the various Tamil works of the Śangam period shows that the city of Madurai was well planned and built according to the principles of town planning laid down in the *Silpa Sastras*[8].

1. Ibid 11. 18-20, 493-502. They adjudged between right and wrong and saw to it that the king did not err into wrong judgments and that *dharma* was protected and good will was encouraged and that no fault ever came their way and thus gained for themselves widespread fame.
2. *Puram* 305.
3. Ibid 11. 489-92.
4. *Agam* 256.
5. *Puram* 55.
6. *Puram* 184.
7. *Agam* 77.
8. *Nedunalvādai*, 11. 72-79, *Maduraikkānci*, 11. 646-47.

Besides many stray references in numerous Śangam works, picturesque and detailed descriptions of the city of Madurai are given in the *Maduraikkāñci* and *Neḍunalvāḍai*, both of which may be assigned about the 2nd-3rd c. A.D.

The *Maduraikkāñci*, the longest poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* collection, contains a graphic pen picture, covering 370 lines of Madurai city in the early centuries of the Christian era.[1] Mānguḍi Marudanār, the author of this poem, states that the city of Madurai stood in the centre of the flourishing Pāṇḍya country which had as many as five different natural regions (*tiṇais*). According to this poem Madurai was a large and beautiful city with a palace, a number of temples, two large crowded bazaars, and many well-laid streets with lofty mansions. The king's courts of justice are also described[2]. The city was surrounded by a deep moat and lofty city walls pierced by huge gates with towers over them. The Vaigai skirted the city walls and formed a natural defence on one side.

Approaching the city from the Vaigai side, the poet describes the various defence works and fortifications surrounding the city. Among the numerous groves and orchards along the banks of the Vaigai lived the Perumpāṇar, a class of panegyrists or minstrels[3]. Madurai was surrounded by a deep moat[4] and a high rampart[5]. The strong and ancient city gateways had high towers and doorways with guardian deities[6]. The heavy doors were blackened by frequent applications of oil[7]. The streets were long and "broad as a river[8]". The houses on either side were well planned and built

1. *Maduraikkāñci*, 11. 331-669.
2. Ibid, 11. 489-92.
3. Ibid 11.331-42.
4. Ibid 1.351.
5. Ibid 1.352.
6. Ibid 11. 353, 355.
7. Ibid, 1.354. It was an ancient belief that guardian deities resided in doorways. A figure of Gajalakṣmi was generally carved on the lintels. Oil (*ney*) and white mustard (*aiyavi*) were applied to doorways perhaps as an offering to the guardian deity. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, 11.85-86; *Narrinai* 370: 3-4; *Tirumurugārruppadai*, 1.228; *Manimēkalai*, 3: 134 (Perhpas this application of oil also acted as a preservative of wood).
8. *Maduraikkāñci* 11. 359; *Neḍunalvāḍai*, 1.29.

This may mean either that there were different types of houses for different classes of people as prescribed in the *Śāstras*, or as Naccināṛkkiniyār, the commentator, says, that the houses were well built with many different parts such as *maṇḍapam*, hall, kitchen, *manai* and so on, which were essential parts of an Indian house. The houses had many windows[1], and were well ventilated. There were residences for men belonging to different religious orders, both Hindu and also probably non-Hindu orders as well[2]. There were mansions of the officers of the State and leading merchants[3]. Different localities were assigned to different professions and craftsmen who crowded the streets with their wares[4].

The streets were always busy and full. The surging crowds speaking in different languages and the sound of the musical instruments and beating of drums rent the air. The two big bazaars[5] were decorated with many kinds of flags such as those hoisted on the occasion of temple festivals, the flags captured in battle as trophies, the pennants flying over liquor and other shops.

The normal traffic of the streets had to be suspended on the occasions when the king's forces, elephants, war chariots, cavalry and drunken soldiers appeared in the streets and had to be given way[6]. Pedlars and petty traders plied a brisk trade in the shade of the lofty mansions[7].

In the evenings the sound of the *paṇai* drum[8] invited the people of the country to the festivals being celebrated. Rich nobles attended by footmen rode or drove along the streets.[9] The ladies of the houses moved to the high terraces to enjoy the cool air of the night. In the evenings temple processions passed through the streets.

1. *Maduraikkāṇci* 11. 357-358.
2. Ibid. 11.467, 474, 487.
3. Ibid. 11. 493-506.
4. Ibid. 11.511-522.
5. Ibid. 11.365-73; *Agam* 93. 9-10; 149.
6. *Maduraikkāṇci*. 11. 380-393.
7. Ibid. 11.405-406.
8. A kind of drum used in the *marudam* region.
9. *Maduraikkāṇci*. 11. 431-42.

Drunken warriors with many scars and wounds roamed about the streets. As midnight approached the sound of the conches and drums ceased, shops were closed, blinds were let down and the citizens prepared themselves to rest[1]. While the city slept the burglars were awake and the poet describes in detail their dress and their mode of operation.[2] But the burglars were foiled very often owing to the alertness of the night watch who went on their rounds unmindful even of the heavy rains and storms that may blow[3].

Elephants and other wild animals kept in the royal mews disturbed the stillness of the early morning with their roar.[4]

The *Maduraikkāñci* thus gives an account of a day in the ancient city of Madurai and Nakkīrar in *Neḍunalvāḍai* gives a vivid description of the palace.

Learned *śilpis* designed and constructed the palace strictly according to the rules of the *Śilpa Śāstras.* They began the construction of the palace at an auspicious hour on a day in the *Citrai* month. The architectural experts stretched a thin thread, marked the directions of the compass, located correctly the gods of the various directions, and set out the plan of a house fit for famous kings.[5]

The lofty gateways of the palace looked like a tunnel through a mountain and were high enough to allow the State elephant to enter with the royal standard carried erect on its back.[6] The strong doors were smooth and well fitted. On the lintel of the doorway was carved the figure of Gajalakṣmi with lotus flowers and flanked by elephants on both sides.[7]

The courtyard of the palace was strewn with sand. Here sported the musk deer and swan. Horses in the stables were restless. There were *makara* mouthed drain pipes to carry off rain water from the terraces[8].

1. Ibid. 11.621-33.
2. Ibid, 11. 634-45.
3. Ibid. 11. 645-53.
4. *Maduraikkanci* 11. 676-77.
5. *Nedunalvadai* 11. 72-79.
6. Ibid. 11. 87-88.
7. Ibid. 11. 81-86.
8. Ibid 11. 95-97.

In the inner apartment with many strong, round and black pillars the well-plastered walls were decorated with mural paintings of flowers and other ornamental designs.[1] In the royal bed chamber was a finely wrought ivory cot well curtained, painted, ornamented and cushioned.[2]

The different well-guarded apartments of the palace were lighted up with lamps held by *Viḷakkup pāvais* of Yavana craftsmanship[3]. Flags were flying in many parts of the palace.

3. SOCIAL LIFE

(i) Castes and Communities

Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, was from early times a well-organised city. The Śangam literature gives a fairly complete and true picture of the social and economic life of the age. Most of the people were organised into occupational groups. Māngudi Marudanār says[4] that there were only four castes, *viz*, *tuḍiyan*, *pāṇan paraiyan* and *kaḍamban* and only one God worthy of being worshipped by having paddy strewn before him, *viz*, the hero-stone erected in memory of the brave warrior who fell in battle. His statement shows the great antiquity of these castes.

The standard of living had reached a high degree of refinement in great cities like Madurai. The *Maduraikkāñci* says that people who crowded the bazaars and streets spoke in different languages[5] thus indicating that many nationalities and communities were in the city.

Many classes of artisans and craftsmen lived therein. There were the workers on shells, chanks and pearls, goldsmiths, bullion merchants, clothiers, dealers in perfumes and flowers, and painters and artists.[6]

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1. Ibid 11. 110-113.
2. Ibid. 11. 115-135, 157-163.
3. Ibid 11. 101-105.
4. *Puram* 335.
5. *Maduraikkānci*, 11. 359-60.
6. Ibid, 11. 511-18.

The Perumpāṇar, a class of panegyrists, lived on the outskirts of the metropolis, Madurai, along the groves of the Vaigai banks.[1] The Maḻavas[2] and Maṟavas[3] from among whom the warriors were recruited, also resided in the city. Nakkīrar refers to the presence of Mlēccas and Yavanas also.[4]

The poet says that long before dawn one could hear the Brahmans reciting the Vēdas.[5] From one *Puṟam* poem sung by Auvaiyār in praise of the three monarchs of Tamil land, it appears that it was the custom for kings to give Brahmans presents of flowers and gold with oblations of water.[6]

Being the capital city of the Pāṇḍyas, members of the infantry, cavalry, and the elephant corps were frequently in the city and their constant movements added to the bustle of the city life.[7]

(ii) Dress and Ornaments

The Tamils, men and women, were fond of bedecking themselves with flowers and ornaments of various kinds and the extent Śangam works give details about the mode of dress and the kinds of ornaments worn by the ancient Tamils of the Madurai country.

The *Neḍunalvāḍai* describes the simple manner in which the Pāṇḍya queen dressed herself when she was alone and separated from the king who had gone to fight.[8] She wore only the *mangalanāṇ* instead of numerous pearl garlands. In place of the big *makarakkuḻai* she had on her ears the small *vāyurai*. She wore bangles made out of the *valampuri* chank and the *kāppunāṇ*, perhaps as a talisman for protection, instead of the gold *toḍi* on her arms. She put on the *viḷakkam* which was a kind of finger ring bent in the

1. Ibid, 11. 332-342.
2. Ibid, 1. 395.
3. Ibid, 11. 590-599, 725-726.
4. *Nedunalvadai*, 11. 31-5.
5. *Maduraikkanci*, 11. 654-66.
6. *Puram* 367: 3-9.
7. *Maduraikkanci*, 11. 376-394.
8. *Nedunalvadai*, ll. 136-147, 151.

shape of the open-mouth of the *vāḷai* fish[1]. She was clad in a simple cotton dress instead of richly embroidered ones. Her feet were bare of ornaments and were not decorated with the perfumed red cotton pastes.

The good taste and refinement of the period are reflected in the dress of the richer classes. The *Maduraikkāñci* describing the noblemen of the city, says that they were clad in embroidered red silk dresses with flowing upper garments. Their swords decorated with gold work, hung by their sides. They wore flower garlands and on their legs, the warrior's anklets.[2] The king's generals wore pearl and flower garlands and sandal paste on their chests, gem-set gold rings, the *toḍi* or *vīravaḷai*, and well-starched fine dresses over which they wore the appropriate ornaments also.[3] The *Maduraik-kāñci* curiously also gives a detailed sketch of the dark dresses and concealed weapons worn by burglars.[4] Drunken *mlēccas* are also not forgotten as the *Neḍunalvāḍai* describes them roaming about the streets with their dress hanging loose on the back and front.[5]

Fine cotton dresses[6], well starched[7] were greatly used. The men wore a *vastra* and a flowing upper garment. Often the dresses of the richer classes seem to have been of a very fine texture and richly embroidered. Some sort of turban or head-dress seems to have been in vogue.[8] Flowers were worn by men and women on their hair and head-dresses.[9] Flower circlets for the head were commonly used by men. These were worn by warriors also when going to battle. The hair was often worn in five plaits by women.[10]

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1. Ibid. ll. 143-4.
2. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 431-43.
3. Ibid, ll. 715-26. The *todi* was a bangle-like ornament worn on she arm near the shoulders.
4. Ibid, l. 634-42.
5. *Nedunalvadai*, ll. 31-5.
6. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 554, 721-22. *Nedunalvadai*, ll. 145-46.
7. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 721-22; *Nedunalvadai*, l. 134, *Kuruntogai*, 330; 1-3; *Agam* 387; 6-7.
8. *Maduraikkanci*, l. 494.
9. Ibid, ll. 561-62.
10. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 139-140.

Tōḷvaḷai or *toḍi* in the shape of a ring or circle was worn on the shoulder[1]. The *vandigai* or *kaivandi*[2] was worn on the arm above the elbow. Chank bangles and especially of the *valampuri* chank were used.[3]

The chest and shoulders were ornamented with decorative designs made of perfumed paste and sandalwood paste.[4] The red cotton paste[5] was also used for decorating the body. Pearl and flower garlands as well as gold chains[6] were worn.

The legs were adorned with many kinds of anklets such as gold *śilambus*[7] with pearls inside them. The men wore the *kaḻal*.[8].

(iii) Arts and Crafts

Arts and crafts had reached a high degree of perfection and there are references to different classes of artisans and skilled workers living in the Madurai city. Some of the poets of Madurai were also artisans. Skilled craftsmen in gold produced fine gold ornaments. As chank bangles were popular the chank-cutting industry was an important one. There are numerous references to the cutting of chank bangles with the help of peculiar saws.[9] *Avaidik* Brahmans whose occupation was chank cutting are also referred to.[10] Along the gulf of Mannar diving for chanks and pearls was carried on on a large scale. One poet refers to the *Sēri* of the chank divers at Koṟkai.[11] Big chanks were used for blowing during warfare[12], during festivals or such other occasions.

1. Ibid, ll. 597, 712.
2. Ibid, l. 415.
3. *Nedunalvadai*, ll. 141-142.
4. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 415, 493.
5. *Nedunalvadai*, l. 151.
6. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 569, 680-81; *Nedunalvadai*, ll. 136-37.
7. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 443-44.
8. Ibid, ll. 395-96.
9. *Maduraikkanci*, l. 316; *Kuruntogai* 365; 1; *Aingurunuru* 194: 1.
10. *Agam* 24.
11. *Maduraikkanci* ll. 136-8.
12. Ibid, ll. 182-5.

The artisans made articles of a highly decorative and artistic kind, like the lotus ornaments of the driver's seat on chariots. These ornaments were known as *koḍuñji* or *koḍiñji*.[1] Chariots with beautiful ivory inlay work are referred to.[2] Statues and images of gold and other metals were of fine workmanship.[3] The blacksmiths turned out the requirements of the army such as armour[4], weapons of offence and defence, as well as articles for domestic use such as lamps.[5]

There was a healthy rivalry among craftsmen and each one tried to do one better than his companions. An instance of this is given in *Neḍunalvāḍai* which refers to the making of a cot for the bed chamber of the Pāṇḍya queen. The cot was finely wrought in ivory, well ornamented, curtained with painted cloth and cushioned.[6] Doorways of palaces and houses which were decorated with Gaja-lakṣmi panels[7] gave further scope to display the artistry of craftsmen.

Painting also reached a high degree of perfection. Walls were covered with decorative floral and abstract designs in various colours.[8] Poets speak highly of the skill of painters. It is stated that the two big bazaars of the Madurai city looked as picturesque as a painting.[9] Many painters lived in the city of Madurai. The artists understood their subjects so well that they were able to give expression in their paintings even to subtle and hidden characteristics.[10] Stucco work[11] and stucco images and statues[12] were erected on walls.

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1. *Puram* 77: 5, 368: 4; *Maduraikkāñci*, l. 752.
2. *Kuṟuntogai* 189.
3. *Agam* 392; *Maduraikkāñci* ll. 410-12.
4. *Maduraikkāñci*, l. 740.
5. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, l. 42.
6. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, ll. 115-135; 157-163.
7. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, ll. 81-85; *Kalittogai* 44: 5-7.
8. *Maduraikkāñci*, l. 485; *Neḍunalvāḍai*, ll. 112-113.
9. *Maduraikkāñci*, l. 365.
10. Ibid, ll. 516-18.
11. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, l. 110.
12. *Agam* 157, 369; *Maduraikkāñci* ll. 723-24.

4. LEARNING AND LITERATURE

(i) Literary Conventions

The ancient Tamils had divided Tamiḻagam into five natural regions or *tiṇais* called *Kuṟiñji* or the hilly country, *Pālai* or the dry waterless region, *Mullai* or the wooded land between the highlands and the lowlands, *Marudam* or the lower courses of rivers, and *Neydal*, the littoral tract, which skirts the sea. With the geographical differences as a basis, the ancient Tamils evolved a set of literary conventions regarding these *tiṇais*. These conventions specified the fauna and flora, produce, mode of occupation and industries, type of people, conditions of life, war and marriage and the deities and the kind of poetry to be sung respectively regarding these five natural regions.

The Pāṇḍya dynasty ruled in what may be termed the Madurai country which covers a fair proportion of all the five kinds of regions or *tiṇais*. Of the five *tiṇais*, by far the most important is the *marudam* or river valley region. Riverine areas have made significant contributions towards the progress of human culture and civilization in many parts of the world. The Pāṇḍya country was no exception. Madurai is situated in the heart of the *marudam* region in the Pāṇḍya country. In fact, to the commoner Madurai is better known as *Marudai*. Madurai was ideally suited to become the cultural centre as well as the capital of the ancient kingdom.

The literary conventions relating to the *marudam* region are enumerated in the *Poruḷadikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Some of these are that the fields and the tract surrounding them were called *marudam* and the crops grown were red rice and white rice. The buffalo and the beaver, *marudam* (*Terminalia alata*), and *kāñci* and the *vañji* creeper, the duck, the water-fowl, the swan and the nightingale, and the lotus and the red water-lily were the characteristic fauna and flora. Rivers, wells and ponds abounded in the region. The occupation of the people was paddy cultivation and their favourite pastime was bull-racing. The chief of the *marudam* region was known by the terms *ūran* and *magiḻnan*. The *uḻavar* were the cultivators of the region. The *veḷḷalar* were the tribesmen.

The formal type of *kaṟpu* marriage was prescribed for the *marudam*. The themes for *marudam* poetry were *kaṟpu* type of marriage, post-nuptial love and trouble from courtesans.

The deity pertaining to the *marudam* was "the cloud-compeller, He who breaks with his thunderbolt the rain-bearing clouds": *Pongal* or rice cooked with pulses was the favourite offering to this deity. The *Poṅgal* feast in the month of *Tai* is the harvest festival and is still one of the chief festivals observed in the Tamil country.

Since the *uḻiñai* creeper was worn during military operations the type of warfare in the *marudam* region was called *Uliñai*.[1]

(ii) **Poets of the Sangam Period**

The available Śangam works are all in verse. About 450 names of poets of the period are known and of these nearly 100 are definitely known to have belonged to Madurai or the Pāṇḍya country[2]. Fur-

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1. P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar. *History of the Tamils*, p. 81.

2. *List of Madurai Poets:*—Madurai Aḻakkar Jñāḻar Magāṉār Maḻḻaṉār, Madurai Aṟuvai Vāṇigan Iḻaveṭṭaṉār, Maḏurai Āśiriyar Kōḏan Koṟṟaṉār, Madurai Ilankannik Kouśikaṉār, Madurai Ilan Kouśikaṉār, Madurai Iḻam Pāḻāśiriyan Śēndan, Madurai Ōlaikkadaikkaṇṇampuguntarāyattaṉār, Madurai Ōlaikkaḏaiyattār Naivellaiyār, Maduraikkaḏaiyattār Magan Veṇṇāgaṉār, Maduraikkaṇakkāyaṉār, Maḏuraik Kaṇḏarattattaṉār, Maduraikkaṇṇattaṉār, Madurikkavuniyan Pūdattaṉār, Maduraikkaḻḻiṟkkadaiyattan Veṇṇāgaṉār, Maduraikkāmakkaṇi Nappalāttaṉār, Maḏurai Kārulaviyan Kūttaṉār, Maduraik Kwttanar, Maduraikūlavāṇigan Śāttaṉār, Maduraikkollan Pullan, Maduraikkollan Veṇṇāganar, Maduraiccuḻḻam Pōdaṉār, Maduraittattan Kaṇṇaṉār, Maḏuraittamiḻakkūttan Nāgan Ḍēvaṉār, Maduraīt Tamiḻakkūttaṉār, Maḏuraippadaīmanga Manniyār, Maduraīppālāśirīyar Śēndan Koṟṟaṉār, Māduraippālaśiriyar Nappāṇaṉār, Madurāīppāllāśiriyar Naṟṟāmaṉār, Maduraippūdan Kaṇṇaṉār, Maduraippūdan Iḻanāgaṉār, Madurppūvanḍa Nāgan Vēṭṭaṉār, Maduraīpperunkollan, Maduraip Perumarudaṉār, Maduraip Perumarudiḻanāgaṉār, Maduraip Pōttaṉār, Madurai Marudankiḻāṟ Magaṉār Śokuttaṉār, Madurai Marudankilar Magaṉār Perunkaṇṇaṉār, Madurī Marudankiḻār Magan Iḻam Pōttan, Madurai Vēlāśāṉ, Iḻandēvaṉār, Iṟāiyaṉār, Ilattuppūdan Dēvaṉār, Śīttalai Śāttaṉār, Śēnkaṇṇaṉār, Śōndampūdañār, Nakkīrar, Kāmakkaṇi Nappaśalaiyār, Nallanduvaṉār, Nalveḻḻiyār, Maduraip Pērālavāyār, Marudan Iḻanāgaṉār,

List of Poets of the Pāndya Country:-Agamban Mālādaṉār, Aḻḻūr Nanmullaiyar, Ālambēri Śāttaṉār, Iraṇiyamuṭṭattup Perunkunrurpperun Kouśikaṉār, Okkūrmāśāttaṉār, Okkūrmāśāttiār, Kaḏuvan Iḻamannaṉār, Kaḏuvan Mallaṉār, Kaṇiyan Pūnkuṉ ṟarār Kaṇṇaṉār, Kadakkaṇṇaṉār, Kapilar, Karumpiḻḻaippūdaṉār, Kiḻḻimangalakiḻār, Killimangalankiḻār Magaṉār Śōkōvaṉār, Kuṟukuḍi Marudaṉār, Koḏimangalattu Vāduli Naṟcēndaṉār, Kōṭṭiyūr Nallāndaiyār, Kōnāṭṭu Eliccalūr

ther about 20 names of Pandya kings and princes occur in the Śaṇgam works and of these more than ten were poets.[1]

The Muse of poetry seems to have inspired its votaries without any distinctions of caste or creed. The poets hailed from all classes and communities of both *vaidika* and *avaidika* creeds. Thus there were poems composed not only by kings and princes but also by blacksmiths.

A large number of the poets were Brahmans[2]. Many poets seem to have been teachers as some of their names would reveal[3] The epithet "Pālāśiriyar" probably indicates that the poet was a teacher for young children. Madurai Eḻuttāḻanār and Madurai Eḻuttāḻanār Śēndan Pudianār were probably writers. A Pāṇḍya

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Māḍalan Maduraikkumaranār, Tangāl Āttirēyan Śenkaṇṇanār, Tengāl Poṟkollan Veṇṇāganār Piśirāndaiyār, Podumbil Kiḻār, Podumbil Kiḻar MaganārVeṇkaṇṇiyār, Podumbit Pullālan Kaṇṇiyār, Marungūrkilār Perunkannanār, Marungūrppaṭṭinat tnccēndan Kumaranār, Marungūruppākai Śāttan-Pūdanār, Mārōkkattukkāmekkeṇi Nappālattanār, Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār, Mōśikkaṇṇattanār, Mōśikkīranar, Mōśik Koṟṟanār, Mōśikkaraiyanār, Mōśi Śāttanār, Viricciyūr Nannāganār Viṟṟuṟṟu Mudeyinanār, Viṟṟūṟṟu Vaṇṇakkan Dattanār, (Podumbil Kiḻān, Veṇkaṇṇanār, Veḻḻi Vidiyār, Vembaṟṟūrkkaṇṇankūttanār, Vēmbaṟṟūrkkumaranār.

1. Ollaiyūr tanda Bhūtap-Pāṇḍyan—*Puṟam* 71, *Agam* 25. Kaḍaluṇ mainda Iḻamperuvaludi—*Puram* 182, *Paripāḍal* 15. Peru Valudi—*Narrinai* 55, 56. Āryappaḍaikadanda Neḍunjeḻiyan-*Puṟam* 183. Neduñjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālanganām—*Puṟam* 72. Ugrapperuvaludi—*Naṟṟinai* 98, *Agam* 26, *Tiruvaḻḻuvamalai* Maṟan Vaḻudi—*Nāṟṟaṇi* 97, 301. Arivuḍai Nambi *Kuruntogai* 230, *Naṟṟiṇai* 15 *Agam* 373, *Puṟam* 188. Pannāḍu tanda Pāṇḍyan—*Kuṟuntogai* 270. Māḻai Māṟan —*Kuṟuntogai* 245. Aṇḍar Makan Kuṟuvaludi-*Kuruntogai* 345, *Agam* 150, 228, *Puṟam* 346. Malvaḻudi-*Paripāḍal* 12. Muḍattiarumāṟan—*Naṟṟiṇai* 105 and 228. Perun. gōppeṇḍu, the queen of Ollaiyūr tanda Bhūttap Pāṇḍyan—*Puṟam* 246.

2. Maduraikkavuṇiyan Pūdattanār, Madurai Iḻankouśikanār, Madurai Iḻan Kaṇṇikkouśikanār, Kadurai Veḻāśān, Nakkīrar, Kapilar, Koḍi Māngalattuvāduḻi Naṟcendanār, Tangāl Āttireyan Śenkaṇṇanār, Iraṇiyamuṭṭattup Perunkunrūrp Perum Kouśikanār, Kōnaṭṭu Ericcalr Maḍalan Maduraikkumaranār.

3. Madurai Iḻampālāśiriyar Śēndan Kūttan, Madurai Iḻampālāśiriyan Śēndan Koṟṟanār, Madurai Āśiriyar Kōḍan Koṟṟanār, Maḍurai Pālāśiriyar Naṟṟūmanār, Madurai Āśiriyar Naḻlanduvanār, Maduraikkaṇakkayanār, Madurai Iḻam pālāśiriyar Śēndan, Maduraip Pālāśiriyar Nappālanār, Maduraip Pālāśiriyar Naṟṟāmanār.

general named Pāṇḍyan Ēnādi Neḍunkaṇṇanār was also a poet. A large number of scholars were *Veḷḷaḷas*[1].

Quite a number of Vaiśyas, merchants, artisans and craftsmen have also proved themselves to be composers of verses, for instance there were poets who were cloth dealers[2], dealers in palm leaf products,[3] goldsmiths[4], gold testers[5], blacksmiths[6] and grain merchants.[7]

Again, a number of poets appear to have been connected with the performance of various types of religious dances[8].

Many women including a queen also found a place among the galaxy of poets.[9]

Poets from Madurai: Among the poets hailing from Madurai the most important and celebrated names are those of Madurai Kaṇakkāyanār and his son Nakkīrar, Iṟaiyanār, Śīttalai Sāttanār, Kūlavāṇigan Sāttanār, Māngudi Marudanār and Marudan Iḷanāga nār. The chief among the poets of the Pāṇḍya country were Kpilar, Piśirāndaiyār and Vellividiyār.

Maduraikkaṇakkāyanār: He was the father of the great poet Nakkīrar and the grand father of Kīran Korranār. He has composed

1. Māngudi Marudan, Marudan Iḷanāgan, Madurai Marudankiḻār Maganar Śōkuttanār, Madurai Marudankiḻār Maganār Perunkaṇṇanār, Madurai Marudankiḻār Magan Iḷam Pōttan, Killimangalan Kiḻār, Killimangalān Kiḻar Śōkovanār, Podumbil Kilar, Podumbil Kiḻar Maganār, Venkaṇṇiyār, Marungūrkiḻār Perunkaṇṇanār, Podumbil Kiḻār Veṇkaṇṇanār,

2. Madurai Aṟuvai Vāṇigan Iḷavēṭṭanār,

3. Madurai Ōlaikkaḍaik Kaṇṇampugudarāyattanār; Madurai Ōlaikkaḍaiyattār Nalveḷḷaiyār.

4. Maduraikkollan Veṇṇāganār, Tangāl Poṟkollan Veṇṇanāganār.

5. Viṟṟūṟṟu Vānakkan Tattanār.

6. Maduraikkollan Pullan, Maduraipperun Kollan.

7. Maduraippaṇḍavāṇigan Iḷandevanār, Maduraikkūlavāṇigan Śāttanār

8. Maduraikkūttaṇār, Maduraikkārulaviyankūttanār, Maduraittamiḻakkūttanār, Maduraittamiḻakkūttan Nāgan Dēvanār, Vēmbaṟṟūrk Kaṇṇan Kūttanār, Kaḍuvan Iḷamaḷḷanār.

9. Bhūtappāṇḍyan Dēvi Perungōppendu, Maduraikkāmakkaṇi Nappaśalaiyar, Nalveḷḷiyar, Aḷḷūr Nanmullaiyār, Okkūr Māśāttiyār, Podumbil Pullālankaṇṇiyār, Māṟōkattu Nappaśalaiyār, Veḷḷīvīdiyār.

five poems in *Agam, Naṟṟinai* and *Puṟam*. He has sung about Paśumput Pāṇḍyan as well as the Cēra and the Cōḷa in *Agam* 338. Kaṇakkāyan means "teacher". From *Kuṟuntogai* 304 where the poet's name is given as Kaṇakkāyan Tattanār, his name appears to be Tattan. In one of his poems he states that elephants from Venkatam hills were brought as tribute to the Pāndya king[1] and that Koṟkai was famed for its pearls[2].

Nakkīrar: One of the most pre-eminent and erudite of the celebrities who belonged to the so-called third Śangam at Madurai was Nakkīrar. Tradition says that he was the head of the third Śangam. But from the poem of the victor of Talaiyālangānam[3] it is learnt that the leading poet of his court was Māngudi Marudan. Considering that this poem was composed just before the battle of Talaiyālangānam which was fought when the king was yet a mere youth, one may not be far wrong if it is assumed that Māngudi Marudan was the leading poet in the earlier years of the king's reign and that after his death Nakkīrar might have taken his place in the later years of the king's reign.

Nakkīrar has written about 37 poems among the Śangam works. In the *Pattuppāṭṭu* or the Ten Idylls he is the author of *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*[4] and *Neḍunalvāḍai*. The *Neḍunalvāḍai* was sung in honour of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. The poem gives graphic descriptions of the country and the people in the rainy season. His description of the Pāṇḍya palace in the evening in the rainy season is very picturesque and his reference to the queen who is feeling lonely while the king is away at the front busy inspecting his troops and arms unmindful of the inclement weather at dead of nights is very vivid. The *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai* is a guide to the chief shrines of God Muruga. Nakkīrar describes the six places sacred to Muruga, viz. Tirupparankuṉṟam, Tiruccīralaivāi (Tiruccendūr), Tiruvāvinankuḍi (Palani), Tiruvēraham, Kuṉṟutōrāḍal and Paḻamudirśōlai (Tirumāliruñjōlai).

1. *Agam* 27.
2. *Narrinai* 23.
3. *Puṟam* 72.
4. Some scholars hold that this poem was composed by a later poet Nakkirar who lived in about 850 A.D.; S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Ilakkiya Dīpam*, p. 13 ff.

Like his father, Nakkīrar has also praised the three kings of the Tamil country in a poem[1]. He has sung about Pasumput Pāṇḍyan as well as the two Pāṇḍyas who were his contemporaries, viz., the victor of Talaiyālangānam and Ilavandigaippaḷḷittuñjiya Nanmāṟan. The battle of Talaiyālangānam has been described in detail by the poet.[2] In his poems a number of chiefs and chieftains are mentioned.[3] He also praises the poet Kapilar in an *Agam* ode[4]. He compares Ilavandigaippaḷḷittuñjiya Nanmāṟan and his qualities to the different gods like Śiva, Baladēva, Viṣṇu, Muruga, Yama and so on.[5] One finds that it was the fashion for many of the poets of Nakkīrar's generation to compare their royal patrons and their qualities to the gods[6]. This is probably an indication of the transition from the simple life close to Nature led during the early Śangam period to the life full of religious fervour led by the Tamils from about the 4th-5th c. A.D. onwards.

Nakkīrar's poems contain a fund of information about the topography and the economic and social conditions of his times. One of the earliest references to the term *Tamiḻagam* is found in Nakkīrar's poems[7]. He says that Kūḍal (Madurai) was a city full of mansions.[8] He refers to the Vaigai and the Tirumarudantuṟai[9]. Marungai or Marungūr which he mentions was also a flourishing town in the Pāṇḍya country[10].

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1. Maduraikkaṇakkāyanār, *Agam* 338: Nakkīrar, *Agam* 93.

2. *Agam* 36.

3. Nakkīrar refers to Palaiyan Maran (*Agam* 346), Pāri of Parambu (*Agam* 78), Vānan of Sirukudi (*Narrinai* 340), Talumban of Ūnūr (*Agam* 227), Evvi of Vaippur (*Agam* 126), the Vadugar chieftain Erumai (*Agam* 253), Musundai of Vēmbi (*Agam* 249) and Tiraiyan of Pavattiri (*Agam* 340).

4. *Agam* 78.

5. *Puram* 56.

6. Marudan Ilanāgan, *Puram* 55; Kāvirippūmpattinattu Karikkannanār, *Puram* 57, 58.

7. *Agam* 227.

8. *Tirumurugārruppadai*, ll. 70-71; *Agam* 346.

9. *Agam* 36.

10. *Narrinai* 358; *Agam* 227.

Nakkīrar gives graphic pen sketches of the life of the *Paradavar* and *Pāṇas* and *Ulavar*[1]. His description of the *Kārttigai* festival is very interesting[2]. He says that during the *Kārttigai* asterism in the month of *Kārttigai*, it was the custom for the new daughter-in-law of the house to boil in milk beaten rice from the new *kār* harvest and to offer it to God. The houses and streets were lit up with lamps to celebrate the festival.

The poet refers to the *Vadavar* and *Yavanar*.[3] The white stone brought by the *Vaḍavar* from the north was used for grinding the paste from sandalwood brought from the Western mountains, i.e., Podiyil[4]. A statue (*viḷakkuppāvai*) of Yavana workmanship is also mentioned[5].

Astronomical phenomena are referred to by Nakkīrar. He says that *eri kuḷamīn* and *tāl* were different kinds of meteorites and that if they appear and blaze away in the heavens they bring drought, famine and misfortune to the world[6].

In a famous *Puṟam* poem he seems to reflect modern socialistic ideas when he says that the quantity of food and clothing are the same for everybody, viz., "*uṇbadu nāḷi uduppavai iraṇḍē*[7]".

Maduṟai Marudam Iḷanāgar: He was the son of Māṅguḍi Marudan, the celebrated court poet of the victor of Talaiyālangānam Since his father was called Māṅguḍi Kiḷār, Iḷanāgan was perhpas a Veḷḷala. He belongs to the generation immediately follwing the time of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. In his poems there are many references to gods, mythological legends, and sacred places: for instance he mentions Śiva's Tripura Samhāra[8], the story of Kṛṣna hiding the clothes of the Yādava (*Aṇdar*) women on the banks of

1. *Agam* 340, 346 and *Puram* 395 respectively.
2. *Agam* 141.
3. *Puram* 56.
4. *Agam* 340.
5. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, ll. 101-102.
6. *Puram*, 395.
7. *Puram*, 189.
8. *Puram* 55.

the Tolunai (Yamuna)[1] Paraśurāma's performance of a scarifice at Sellūr[2] and Muruga's abode at Śendil (Tiruchendūr)[3].

His poems throw much light on the customs and manners of the period. He mentions the *kuravaikkūttu* danced by women around a clay image set up in the drinking water stage of the rivers[4]. He refers to the custom of worshipping hero stones or memorial stones, i.e., *naḍukals* raised in memory of warriors who were killed in action while rescuing cattle and so on[5]. Interesting details about the life of the Tamils could be gathered from many of his poems. For instance the mode of taking oaths, palmyra leaf umbrellas, camels and creaking wooden carts carrying merchandise, washerwomen stārching clothes, old men gambling and honey-gathering *vēḍar*[7] are all mentioned.

Kapilar: Of the poets hailing from the Pāṇḍya country the most outstanding was Kapilar who has written more than 235 poems the highest individual total among the Śangam poets. He was a Brahman[7] born in Tiruvādavūr. He was an expert in singing about the *kurinji tiṇai.* He has sung the *Kurinjippāttu* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* collection, the *kuṟiñji* poems in the *Kalittogai* and the third one hundred poems about the *kuṟiñji* in the *Ainguṟunūṟu.* The *Kurinjippāṭṭu*, it is believed, was sung by the poet to show the greatness of Tamil to the Ārya King Brahattan. Kapilar has sung about Pāri[8] as well as other chieftains like Kāri, Ōri, Evvi, Naḷḷi and Pēkan[9].

Kapilar's birth place, Tiruvādavūr, is situated in the division known in ancient times as Tenpaṟambunādu. Parambunāḍu was the stronghold of the chieftain Pāri whose name was a byword for liberality. The poet states that there were 300 villages in Pāri's Paṟambunādu. Kapilar was a great friend of Pāri and helped him

1. *Agam,* 59.
2. *Agam* 220.
3. *Puram* 55.
4. *Agam,* 269.
5. *Agam* 131, 269, 343.
6. *Agam* 77, 121, 245, 343, 387; *Puram* 52 and *Agam* 368 respectively.
7. See *Puram* 126, 200 and 201.
8. *Puram* 106-111, 113-120 and others.
9. *Puram* 347, *Puram* 121-124, *Narrinai* 320, *Puram* 202, *Agam* 238, and *Puram* 143 respectively.

very much when his mountain stronghold was besieged by the three Tamil monarchs. After Pāri's death Kapilar is said to have protected his daughters and arranged for their marriage to the Malaiyamān chief of Tirukōyilūr. Kapilar seems to have been a poets' poet. Nakkīrar[1], Perunkunrūr Kiḻār[2], Nappaśalaiyār[3], and Auvaiyār[4] speak in glowing terms about him. The names of Kapilar and Paraṇar often occur side by side in Tamil literature. Both poets seem to have been great friends.

Kapilar's poems exhibit a characteristic eloquence and beauty as, for instance, when he makes an apt comparison between white herons and white clad infantry.[5]

5. RELIGION IN THE SANGAM AGE

The religious life of the Tamils in the Madurai country during the Śangam Age seems to have been a complex of the simple worship of the gods of the five *tiṇais* or natural regions and the various rites, sacrifices and ceremonies of the Vēdic religion. The worship of primitive gods with offerings of rice, slaughtered animals and toddy went on side by side with the performance of elaborate Vēdic sacrifices. The various gods of the five *tiṇais* seem to have later merged with the Vēdic gods. For instance the Māyōn of the *mullai* or woodland region seems to have later become identified with Viṣṇu.

The Pāṇḍya kings were great patrons of the Vēdic lore, the Brahmans and the Vēdic religion. They helped the performance of many Vēdic sacrifices and gave gifts of villages to Brahmans for this purpose. It is stated that long before the citizens stirred from their sleep, Brahmans could be heard chanting the Vēdas early in the morning in the Madurai city[6]. Brahmans devoted their time to Vēdic studies and religious duties and held a high and honoured position in society. There is mention of religious disputations and

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1. *Agam* 78.
2. *Padirrupattu* 85.
3. *Puram* 174.
4. *Agam* 303.
5. *Narrinai* 291.
6. *Maduraikkanci* ll. 654-56.

discussions also[1]. Men and women visited the temples in the evenings and offered worship. Many festivals were celebrated.

Along with Muruga and Koṟṟavai who may probably represent indigenous deities, many other gods of the Hindu pantheon such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Balarāma and Indra were also worshipped. A large number of mythological legends like the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and the exploits of Muruga were also widely known.

Primitive Survivals: The worship of the *kandu* or *kandaḻi* or the pillar was perhaps a survival from primitive times. The commentator Naccinārkkiniyār[2] explains *kandaḻi* as "the principle beyond all manifested ones which stands alone without form and without attachment". If this explanation is correct, the *kandaḻi* would represent the Impersonal. There are many references to the "*Kandudaip podiyil*"[3]. This indicates that the *kandu* or pillar was often erected in a *podiyil* or public place or perhaps the village common for purposes of worship. One poem refers to the old god in the village *manram*[4]. Trees as well as gods under trees were also worshipped[5]. The rice offered to the household gods was scattered in the court yard (*muṟṟam*) and was eaten by the crows[6].

The worship of stones or *naḍukals* erected in memory of warriors who fought bravely and fell in action while fighting or rescuing cattle, appears to have been a very ancient custom. The name and the exploits of the dead hero were writen on the stone[7]. The stone was washed and smeared with turmeric paste and decorated with flowers for worship.[8] The stone was adorned with peacock feathers and a spear was kept in front of it[9]. Māngudi Marudanār[10] says

1. Ibid ll. 423-26.
2. At the end of the commentary on *Tirumurugāṟṟuppadai.*
3. *Agam* 307; *Puram* 52.
4. *Narrinai* 303.
5. *Narrinai* 216. The god under the *vēngai* tree.
6. *Narrinai* 258.
7. *Agam*, 53, 131, 179, 297, 343. *Agam* 343 says that the letters were engraved by means of a sharp *uli*.
8. *Agam*, 269.
9. *Agam*, 131.
10. *Puram*, 335.

that there is only one god worthy of being worshipped by having paddy strewn before him, namely, the hero-stone of the warrior who fell in battle. This also shows the great antiquity of the worship of hero-stones.

Festivals: The Tamils were very fond of festivals and festivities and one hears of many festivals celebrated in Madurai and the Madurai country. There were frequent festivals accompanied by music and religious dances in honour of Muruga. Even to this day Madurai is a city famed for its festivals. Nearly 300 days in the year are festival days. The city seems to have been equally well known for its festivals even during the Sangam Age. One poet says that festivals occurred ceaselessly in Madurai[1]. The *Maduraikkāñci* mentions the *viḻā* in Tirupparankanram[2]. This poem also says that the seven day festival[3], and the evening festivals[4] were celebrated in the Madurai city. The poem mentions the *onam* festival on the day of Ōṇam, the austerism of Viṣṇu, and Nannan's birthday festival. It is not known whether these took place in the city or elsewhere. The *Kārttigai* festival was celebrated on the day of *Kārttigi* asterism in the month of *Kārttigai* with the lighting of many lamps[5] and offerings of beaten rice prepared from the new harvested *kār* paddy and boiled in milk[6]. In the month of *Tai* women and young girls bathed in the rivers in the early morning and offered prayers to God. This was called *Tai nīrāḍal*[7].

While there are numerous references to gods, festivals and worship there are not many direct references to temples. From the fact that the drums sounded announcing the beginning of festivals[8] and that many flags were hoisted in the streets of Madurai in honour

1. *Agam*, 116: 13-14.
2. Lines 262-64; *Agam* 149.
3. Lines 427-28.
4. Line 460.
5. *Narrinai* 202: 9. The poet compares the lamps to the numerous blossoms of *kongam* flowers.
6. *Agam*, 141.
7. *Agam*, 269.
8. *Maduraikkanci* ll. 361-62.

of the festivals in the temples[1] and again that the gods went in procession through the streets of Madurai in the evening, one has to infer that there were many temples in the city. There were religious houses[2] of *vaidika* and *avaidika* sects in the city of Madurai. Till about the 5th c. A.D. the different religions flourished side by side. Harmony and tolerance characterised religious life in the Madurai country.

6. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS—TRADE AND COMMERCE

South India had had trade relations with the West from very early times. The finds of Indian teak in the ruins of Ur, the ancient Sumerian capital, the Babylonian use of the term *Sindhu* for muslin and similar other evidences are a proof of the very early and extensive contacts South India had with Sumeria, Babylon, Arabia and Egypt. Foreign trade by land and sea was flourishing. Later on Greece and Rome began to have direct contacts with South India.

In the first and second centuries A.D. many references to Madurai and the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom are found in the works of Greek and Roman writers. From the time of Emperor Augustus there was great development in South India's trade with Rome. Thisis was due not only to the consolidation of Roman power in Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between the East and the West, and the increase of Roman influence at Palmyra, but also to Hippalus' discovery of the west wind of the monsoon. Thus, sailing routes between South India and the West became regularised and the duration of voyages speeded up. In the time of Claudius (41-45 A.D.) Arabian domination in the Red Sea region was overcome by the Romans and direct sea trade with South India was developed. From now on references to South India, her towns, ports and articles of commerce are very frequent in the works of the classical authors. It is interesting to note that more than one half of the Roman coins found in India date from the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Strabo (c. 25 B.C.) says that during the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus a Pāṇḍya king sent an embassy to Rome.[3] Modoura and King

1. Ibid l. 366.
2. *Maduraikkanci* ll. 461-83.
3. J.W. McCrinidle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 9., para 4, pp. 77-78, para 73.

Pandion were known to Pliny (c. A.D. 75). He states that "if the wind called Hippalus be blowing, Musiris[1] the nearest mart of India, can be reached in forty days............At the time I was writing this Caelobothras was the sovereign of that country. Another more convenient harbour of the nation is Neacyndon[2] which is called Becare. There Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the mart, in a town in the interior of the country called Madura........None of these names of nations, ports, and cities are to be found in any of the former writers-from which it appears that the names (stations) of the places are changed."[3]

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (c. A.D. 75)[4] aslo states that Muziris and Nelcynda were the ports of leading importance and that Nelcynda belonged to the kingdom of Pandian who lived in the interior.[5] Ptolemy (A.D.130) shows a greater knowledge of the ports and inland cities of South India. He says that Melkynda and Komaria, a cape and town, were in the country of the Aioi. He mentions the Kolkhic gulf, where there was the pearl fishery and Kolkhoi,[6] an emporium. Salour, a mart, is included in the land of Pandian.[7] This is probably Śāliyūr, the town named after the paddy and mentioned in the *Maduraikkāñci*.[8] Ptolemy refers not only to Madurai, the royal city of the Pandion[9] but also to many inland towns in the Pāṇḍya country such as Tainour.[10] Thus by the time of Ptolemy Roman contacts with South India had developed to a wide extent.

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1. This was Musiri (modern Cranganore), one of the important Cera port on the west coast.

2. An ancient port very near Kottayam.

3. J.W. McCrindle, op. *cit.*, pp. 111-12.

4. Schoff, the editor of *the Periplus of The Erythraean Sea*, says that the date of the *Periplus* may be taken to be about 60 A.D.

5. Schoff (Ed.) *The Periplus of the Erythrāean Sea*, paras 53, 54, 55.

6. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 57, para 10.

7. Ibid, p. 59, para 11.

8. *Maduraikkanci*, ll. 87-8.

9. J.W.McCrindle: *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 183, para 89.

10. Ibid. p. 183. Tainour is probably Tenur in Nilakkottai taluk, Madurai district, which is frequently mentioned in Sangam works as a flourishing town.

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Regarding the nature of the trade between South India and the West there is the valuable testimony of the author of the *Periplus*. After mentioning the ports on the west coast, such as Muziris and Nelcynda, he says, "They send large ships to these market-towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum (to be had there). There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coins; topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara. Besides this there are exported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell; that from Chryse Island, and that taken among the islands along the coast of Damirica."[1] The above list clearly indicates the preponderance of spices and articles of luxury among the exports to the Western countries.

Large quantities of pepper were imported by Rome from South India. The use of pepper became so popular among the Romans that it came to be known in Sanskrit as "*yavanapriya*" ("dear to the Romans"). It is said that when Alaric attacked Rome in 408 A.D., he demanded as part of the ransom 3000 pounds of pepper.[2] Again, Pilny refers to the enormous quantities of spices used at the funeral of Poppaea, Nero's favourite.[3] The *Periplus* says that "larger ships" were now needed for the cinnamon trade.

Madurai and Uṟaiyūr were the chief marts from whence pearl was exported to Rome. The important pearl fisheries in the Pāṇḍya country were at Koṟkai to which both *Periplus* and Ptolemy[4] refer. The fisheries were worked by condemned criminals[5].

1. Schoff (Ed:) *The Periplus of the Erytharaean Sea*, para. 56.
2. J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 608.
3. *Natural History*, XII, 41.
4. J.W.McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 57, para. 10.
5. Schoff (Ed.) : *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para. 59.

Pearls became so fashionable with the Roman ladies that moralists began lamenting the wearing of pearls by ladies. The trade in gems and pearls grew to such enormous proportion and led to such an adverse balance of trade for Rome that complaints arose about the drain of Roman gold. In 22 B.C. Emperor Tiberius wrote to the Roman Senate complaining that the rage for jewels and precious trinkets on the part of the Roman ladies was draining the empire of its wealth, *viz*., gold[1]. In the time of Claudius and Nero also the import of luxuries continued unabated so that Pliny is found complaining in 70 A.D. that India drained Roman gold to the value of nearly a million pounds a year "giving back her own wares which are sold among us at fully a hundred times their cost." Since the chief imports of the Tamil country were gold and silver Roman coins and wine, Pliny was probably justified in his complaint. Pliny's statement is corroborated by the Chinese annals which tell us that the Parthians and Indians used to derive three hundred-fold profit from their maritime trade with the Roman Empire.[2] While the trade was highly profitable to Madurai and the Tamil countries, the balance of trade was so adverse to Rome that the Indian trade seriously affected the coinage of Rome. Schoff says that this extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities was the main cause of the successive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency.[3]

The impressively abundant Roman coinage found along the breadth of Tamil India from the Malabar to the East coast stands as a silent testimony to the importance of South Indian trade with the West in the 1st c. A.D. Twentynine finds of coins, distributed through Madras State and the States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Cochin, Pudukkottai and Travancore, include among them the *Aurei* or *denarii* ranging from Augustus to Trajan.[4]

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1. Tacitus: *Annals* iii, 53.

2. Hirth: *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 42, 45.

3. Schoff (*Ed*): *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 219.

4. *Ancient India*, No. 2 pp. 118-19, gives a list of the Roman coins of the 1st c. B.C. to 4th c. A.D. found in the Madras presidency. The following is the list pertaining to Madura and Tinnevelly districts:— (p. to).

There have been some doubts as to what use these foreign coins were put to in the Tamil country. Firstly it is to be noted that, "of the 29 1st-century finds, at least 20 are known to have constituted hoards, ranging individually from four or five coins to 'some hundreds, if not thousands'...................... Secondly, these 1st-century coins are invariably of gold or silver. There is no authenticated discovery of a Roman 'brass' coin of the 1st or 2nd century in India. Thirdly, coins of Augustus and Tiberius predominate. After Nero they dwindle markedly. Fourthly, the gold coins are liable to be either pierced for suspension or mutilated by a cut across the obverse. Only one of the very mumerous Roman silver coins is known to have been similarly mutilated. Fifthly, there is a notable grouping of early coin-finds across Southern India from the Western to the Eastern coasts."[1] Regarding the imports into the ports of Muziris and Nelcynda, the *Periplus* says, "these are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin."[2] Among the imports into Barygaza the same work mentions "gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country."[3] These statements together with the fact that the bulk of the coins have been found in hoards, indicate that the coins were mostly used as bullion and not as currency. Probably they were

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(contd.)

(1) Kaliyamputtur, Madura district. (near boundary of Madura and Coimbatore dist): 63 gold coins in a pot, Augustus-Nerva (d. A.D. 98), Madras Journal of Literature and Science, XVII (1856-7), 114, and XIX (1857-58), 157-8.

(2) Madura town: it Roman gold coins ending with Nero, dated A.D. 61-2. Madras Nus. A. Rep., 1917, pp. 4, 5, 8.

(3) Madura town: Stray finds of copper coins, including Honorius and Acadius (c. A.D. 400). R. Sewell: *List of the Antiquarian Ramains in the Presidency of Madras*, I (1882), 291.

(4) Madura district: Aureus of Domitian (d. A.D. 96). *Madras Govt. Mus. Cat. Coins*, No. 2 (1894), p. 29.

(5) Karivalamvandanallur, Sankaran Koyal Tk., Tinnevelly district Six aurel latest of Hadrian of A.D. 118. *Madras Mus. A. Rep.*, 1933, p.5.

1. M. Wheeler: *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 139.
2. Schoff (*Ed.*): *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para. 56.
3. Ibid. para. 49.

weighed out in exchange for goods.[1] The defacing of the gold coins wholly or mostly by an incision across the head of the Roman emperor, also points to a cancellation of the use of the gold piece as a coin-issue.

Besides the gold and silver Roman coins found in several places of South India "innumerable copper coins have been found in Madurai in the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months. The presence in many different places in the same town of Roman copper coins found lying in the ground or in the sandy bed of the river, seems to imply that these coins were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place."[2] Since the very large quantity of these coins would have perhaps made it difficult to import this type of currency, it is believed that they might have been minted locally for use by the Roman merchants who had settled there. Hence the presence of these coins seems to indicate also the presence of a local Roman colony at Madurai and its environs. This is not improbable or strange for there is plenty of evidence in the extant Sangam work to show that there were a large number of Roman merchants, soldiers and artisans living in various parts of South India. Ptolemy (c. 130 A.D.) says that he obtained part of his knowledge from people who had resided in India for a long time. This shows that some Romans, probably merchants or sailors, had settled down in the Tamil country for an appreciable time. Roman soldiers were employed as bodyguards and as gate-keepers of palaces by the Pāndyas and other Tamil kings.[3] There are also many references to the Yavana ships[4], their dress[5], the gold and the wine[6] brought by them, statues

1. *Agam*, 149, ll. 7-11 rifers to the port of Musiri to which came the large beautiful ships of the Yavanas which bring gold and take pepper.

2. J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 610.

3. *Silappadikkaram* xiv, 66-7, *Mullaippāttu* ll, 59-66.

4. *Agam* 148: 8-11; Nakkirar in *Narrinai* 31, 48-10, refers to the various articles brought from other countries in ships borne by the wind.

5. *Mullaippāttu*, ll. 59-61; *Nedunalvādai*, ll. 31-35.

6. *Puram* 56: 18-20; *Agam* 149; 8-11.

of Yavana workmanship[1], and the dumb *mlēccas*[2] who roamed the streets. The *Periplus* while speaking of the imports into the market towns of the west coast of the Tamil country, says, "There are imported here........wheat enough for the sailors for this is not dealt in by the merchants there.[3]" This also shows clearly that there were a large number of Roman sailors in the Tamil country. Recent archaeological discoveries at Arikamedu[4] near Pondicherry have brought to light the presence of an Indo-Roman trading station of the 1st c. A.D., probably the Podouke[5] of the *Periplus*. Hence the presence of a Roman colony at Madurai or its environs may not be far too improbable.

The flourishing foreign trade led to the growth of many harbours in the Pāṇḍya country such as Koṟkai famed for its pearls and Śāliyūr[6] where large ships with flags flying on their tall masts came with various foreign goods. Marudan Ilanāgan refers to light houses[7] on the shore for the guidance of the big ships at sea. Nakkīrar refers to the ships which brought different articles of merchandise from various foreign countries.[8] Horses were also brought by ships to the Pāṇḍyan shores.[9]

Besides the flourishing foreign trade carried on which the East and the West, internal trade during the Sangam Age in the Pāṇḍya country was also well organised and briskly carried on. Merchants travelled from one place to another, carrying their goods in carts

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1. *Nedunalvāḍai*, ll. 101-102; *Perumpāṇāṟruppadai*, ll. 316-17; in works belonging to a slightly later period there are further references to the Yavanas. The *Manimekalai* mentions the Yavanattaccar (xix cl. 107-109). The *Perunkdai* refers to Yavana lamps (i, 47: 173-75), ornaments (i. 32: 76), *vina* (iii, 16 : 22-3), chest (iii, 22: 213) and carts (i, st. 101-04), mentions Yavana defence mechanisms; *Silappadikaram* (5: 10) and *Perunkadai* ((iii, 4: 8) refer to Yavana quarters.

2. *Nedunalvādai*, ll. 31-35; *Mullaippāttu*, ll. 61-6.

3. Schoff (Ed.): *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para 56.

4. *Ancient India* No. 2. p. 17, ff.

5. Podouke may perhpas be equated with Puduccēri or "new town".

6. *Maduraikkānci*, ll. 75-88.

7. *Agam* 255.

8. *Narrinai* 31.

9. *Maduraikkānci*, ll. 322-23.

and on the back of pack-animals. Salt which was produced in abundance in the salt-pans of the East Coast, was an important article of trade. There are many references to the salt produced in the salt-pans and the sellers of salt.[1] The *Maduraikkāṇci* says that the workers in the *aḷams* or salt pans lived in small huts but carried on a big and important industry[2]. Muduveḻḻilai was a great salt producing centre.[3] Big ships fully laden with salt, tamarind, salted dried fish carried them to other places [4]. The dealers in salt were known as *umaṇar.* They carried their heavy loads of salt in wooden carts[5] or on the back of asses.[6] A king is compared to the strong bull which drags out of the ruts and holes of the road the heavy salt laden cart proceeding from the eastern shores to the hill country in the west.[7] The strings of salt-laden carts always attracted the interest of the youngsters. Kapilar refers to the little girls who keep counting the carts of the salt vendors.[8] The *Sāṭṭuvar* or traders also used the long legged camel[9] as a beast of burden when crossing the arid waste lands with their merchandise. The rice, cotton and cloth produced in the valleys had also to be taken to other regions for sale. There was trade by barter to a great extent. For instance, the pearl oysters fished at Koṟkai were exchanged for toddy[10]. Various types of gold coins seem to have been in use.[11] One poet compares the neem fruit in the mouth of the parrot to the bright round gold coin newly made by the gold smith[12]. Gold coins were strung and used as a waist ornament also.[13]

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1. *Maduraikkāṇci* ll. 117, 318.
2. Ibid 117-22.
3. Ibid, ll. 117-22.
4. Ibid, ll. 318-22.
5. *Agam,* 343.
6. *Agam,* 207, 343.
7. *Puram,* 55: 6-9.
8. *Puram,* 116.
9. *Agam,* 245.
10. *Agam,* 296.
11. *Agam,* 363. "Polan cei kāsu".
12. *Kuruntogai* 67.
13. *Agam,* 269: 15.

CHAPTER IV

MADURAI'S BID FOR EMPIRE

A: THE POST-SANGAM EPOCM

1. The Kalabhra Interregnum

With the close of the Sangam age South India including Madurai, was enveloped in a long historical blackout for a period of more than three centuries. During this period Buddhism and Jainism rose to great prominence in Madurai. This period was also characterised by great literary activity in Tamil. Most of the works included in the "Eighteen Minor Works" were written during this period, as also the epics, *Silappadikāram*, *Manimēkalai* and other works.

After the close of the Śangam Age there was confusion in the political history of Madurai, owing to the Kaḷabhra invasion and their occupation of the Tamil country. Their onslaught brought about an extensive political revolution and many of the South Indian dynasties including the Pāndyas were adversely affected. For nearly three centuries one gets only stray glimpses into the history of Madurai till political equilibrium was restored by the defeat of the Kalabhras at the hands of the Pāndyas, and Pallavas as well as the Cālukyas of Bādāmi.

Of these mysterious enemies who upset the established political order there is as yet no definite knowledge. From literary and epigraphic evidences the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. appear to be a period when aliens were very active in the Pāndya country. A Jaina *sangha* for the first time seems to have been established in the Tamil country at Madurai in 470 A.D. In a *Digambara Darsanasāra*, Devasena says that Vajranandi, the pupil of Śri Pūjyapāda, founded the *Drāvida Sangha* in Mathura of the Deccan in the year 525 after the death of Vikrama[1]. This was not any literary academy but a religious organisation for propagating the *Jaina Dharma* in the Tamil country.

Another religious organisation, a *Bauddha sangha* of the Tamil country is mentioned in the *Manimēkalai* as functioning in Kāvirip-

1. J.B.B.A.S. Vol. XVII. Pt. 1, No. xlvi, p. 74.

pūmpattinam[1]. Thus Jainism and Buddhism seem to have attained a position of prominence in the Tamil land at about this time. Buddhadatta from Uṟaiyūr was a great Pāli writer who had composed many Buddhist works. He appears to have lived in the last quarter of the 5th century and to have been the elder contemporary of Buddhaghōsa. He mentions as his contemporary a king named Accutha Vikkanta[2] during whose reign Buddhist monasteries and authors enjoyed much patronage in the Cōla country. This king was probably a Buddhist himself. In the closing passage in the *Vinayaviniccaya* Buddhadatta says that the wotk "was begun and finished during the reign of the blemishless Accutha Vikkanta of the Kalabbakula."[3]

In Tamil literature there is mention of ancient Kaḷappa kings and a Kaḷappa clan as existing till comparatively recent times. There is also a place Kalappal in the Tamil country. Accuta Kaḷappāḷan was the father of Meykaṇḍadēvar who lived in the 13th Century and was the founder of modern Tamil Śaivism. Late literary tradition in Tamil avers that one Accuta Kaḷappāḷan kept in confinement the three Tamil kings the Cēra, the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya.[4] One Neṟkuṉṟam Kiḻān, a Kalappāla Rāja, has been mentioned in an inscription[5] Ñambi Āṇḍār Nambi in his *Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi* calls Kūṟṟuva Nāyanār a Kaḷappāḷan. The similarity between the names has led some scholars to think that Accuta Kaḷabbha of Buddhadatta must be the same as Accuta Kaḷappāḷan of the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* and that the Kaḷabhras must be a Tamil clan, the Kaḷappāḷas. But all available evidences seem to point to the Kaḷabhras as a people foreign to South India.

The evidence of the *Mahāvaṃśa* also corroborates the fact that there was political disorder in the Madurai country. It says that about A.D. 496 a Tamilian named Pāṇḍu landed in Ceylon, slew king Mittasēna and usurped the throne. Surrounded by Tamils

1. *Manimēkalai* VII. 113-114.
2. *Vinayavinīccaya sl.* 3168-3179.
3. Ibid.
4. *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* - Stanzas 154-157.
5. *Sentamil* - v. 12, p. 268

he and several successors ruled Ceylon for over twenty years. In about A.D. 517 or 523 Datusēna, the Ceylonese king, succeeded in expelling the Pāṇḍya usurpers from Ceylon. He extirpated the Tamil in his island.[1]

Of the Tamil usurpers on the island of Ceylon at this time, as many as five names are mentioned, viz., Pāṇḍu (496 A.D.), Parinda (501 A.D.), Dhudda Parinda (504 A.D.), Tiritara (520 A.D.), Dathiya II (520 A.D.) and Pithiya (523 A.D.).[2]

It was probably during the Kaḷabhra interregnum in the Madurai country that Mūrtināyanār[3] ruled over Madurai. A Karunāṭa king who was an *amaṇa*[4] defeated andexpelled the Pāṇḍyas and ruled from Madurai. Mūrtināyanār was a *vaṇiga* of Madurai and a devotee of Śiva. It was his custom to supply sandalwood paste every day to the Madurai Temple for the God's worship. Under the rule of the alien king he suffered many hardships since he was persecuted and prevented from getting supplies of sandalwood for the worship of his favourite deity. Finally after the sudden death of the Karunāta King Madurai was without a ruler. Mūrtināyanār was chosen king by an elephant which was let loose for the purpose of choosing a ruler. Mūrtināyanār tried to put down the *avaidika* religions and restore Śaivism.

The founding of the Jaina Sangam in Madurai in 470 A.D, the Pāṇḍya usurpation of the Singalese throne between about 496 and 523 A.D. and the story of Mūrtināyanār clearly point to the upsetting of the political order in Madurai in about the 5th century A.D. Probably during the Kaḷabhra interregnum Pāṇḍya Kings and princes took refuge in Ceylon and ruled over the island waiting for a suitable opportunity when they could come back and recover Madurai.

1. *Mahāvamsa* chap. 38

2. R. Sewell and Dr. S.K. Iyengar. *The Historical Inscriptions*, *of South India* p. 330.

3. The *Kallādam* 57, Perumparrappuliyūr Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyādal* No. 51 and the *Periya Puranam*. No. 15. Murti : 11, 12, narrate the story of Mūrtinaynār.

4. The *Kallādam* says he was an *Aruha*. The *Periyapuranam* says he was a *Vadugakarunata* and a *samana*.

Epigraphic evidences show that the Kaḷabhras were a source of danger to many of the South Indian dynasties. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍya Neduñjaḍaiyan roundly denounces the Kaḷabhras as evil kings (*kali arasar*) who uprooted many *adhirājas* and abrogated *Brahmadēva* rights[1]. It says "Then a kali king named Kalabhran took possession of the extensive earth driving away numberless great kings (*adhirājas*). It also refers to the Kalabhras and their brave oceanlike army.[2] Mr. Krishna Sastri is inclined to the view that *kaḷi* (*kali kula*) was the name of a dynasty of kings.

From about the 6th century A.D. the Kaḷabhras seem to have been overthrown by the various South Indian dynasties. In A.D. 575 the Pallava Simhaviṣṇu[3] and the Pāṇḍya king Kaḍungōn[4] defeated the Kaḷabhras. Narasimha Varman I (c. 630-668), the Pallava, again defeated them[5]. Of the Cāḷukyas, Vinayāditya (681-96 A.D.), Vikramāditya II (734-45 A.D.) and Kīrtivarman II (744-53 A.D.) are said to have defeated the Kaḷabhras[6] and Pulakesin II (611-42 A.D.) is credited with the defeat of the Kaḷikula[7]. The *Periyapurānam* says that Kalippahaiyār[8] who was engaged to Appar's sister went to fight against the Northerners who had invaded the Tamil region. Appar was a contemporary of Mahēndra Varman I (600 630 A.D.). From all available evidences the Kaḷabhras seem to have been terrible and ruthless conquerors who were regarded as interlopers by the people of the lands they overran.

There has been much controversy over the identification of the Kaḷabhras who have been variously held to be the Karnāṭaka,

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1. Velvikkudi grant ll. 39-40.
2. Ibid ll. 111-112; E.I. Vol. 17. p. 306 n. 2 ; Contra Hultzsch in E.I. Vol. 18, p. 216 where he translates *Kalikula* into the people of Kali age.
3. Kasakudi plates, S. I.I., Vol. 11, p. 356.
4. Vēlvikkudi grant ll. 39-46.
5. Kūram plates, S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 144.
6. Harihar grant of Vinayāditya; Nerur grant of Vikramāditya II and Vakkaleri grant (ll. 36-52. I.A. Vol. VIII, p. 23 ff. and E.I., Vol. V, p. 200 ff.) respectively.
7. Kopparam plates, 11-8-9.
8. *Periyapurānam*, No. 21 Tirunāvukkarasu.

the Muttaraiyars, the Veḷḷala Kaḷappāḷa clan, the Kaḷvar tribe, the Kaḍambas and the Puḷḷis of Vèngaḍam. According to a recent view the home of the Kaḷabhras is thought to be the Kannaḍa country[1].

Political order was restored in Tamiḷagam after the defeat of the Kaḷabhras at the hand of the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas as well as the Cāḷukyas of Bādami. The Kaḷabhra sway in Madurai was put an end to by Kaḍungōn.

While the Kaḷabhras were initially overthrown by Kaḍungōn (c.590-620 A.D.) and possibly also by his son Māṟavarman Avaniśūḷāmani (620-45 A.D.) mopping up operations seem to have continued in the reigns of his successors. Jainism in the Madurai country received a serious setback in the reign of Arikēsari Māṟavarman (670-700 A.D.) or Kūn Pāṇḍya, when Sambandar defeated the Jains and weaned the king from Jainism to Śaivaism. His son Kōcaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (700-730 A.D.) had the title *Madhurakarunātakan*[2]. The significance of this title is not clear. Possibly it may refer to his victories over the Karunāṭakas, who are stated to have been Jains and to have defeated the Pāṇḍya King[3]. Again during the reign of Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan (765-815 A.D.) it is said that "the power of the *Kaliarasan* was weakened."[4] He also had the titles *Kalippagai* and *Kantaka Niṣṭūran*. The re-grant of Velvikkudi village by Parāntaka Nedunjadaiyan after the Kalabhra interregnum, his assumption of the title *Kalippagai*, the statement that the *Kali* King's power was weakened, as well as the fact that Parāntaka undertook the building or reconstruction of Kūḍal, Vañji and Koli[5], which possibly led to his title *Kūṭanirṇayan*[6] indicate that after the Kaḷabhra interregnum serious steps for the restoration of social and political order taken in the reign of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (765-815 A.D were whose reign also coincided with one of the greatest periods of temple building in the history of Madurai.

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1. K.R. Venkataraman: A *Note on the Kalabhras*. J. I. H. Vol. XXXIV, 1955-56, p. 183 ff.
2. Velvikkudi grant 11. 69-70.
3. *Kallādam* 57 ; *Periyapurānam*, No. 15 : Murti: 11, 12; Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyādal* No. 51.
4. Velvikkudi grant 1. 90.
5. Velvikkudi grant 1. 86.
6. Velvikkudi grant 1. 102.

2. Literary Works of the Post Sangam Age

Under the general heading of *Padineṇ-kīḻk-kanakku* a number of important didactical works have been grouped together. They are composed in various short metres, generally types of the *veṇbā*. They were composed mostly during the epoch 500-851[1] A.D. The best known of them all and probably also the earliest is the *Kuṟaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. There is a tradition that it was published in the court of the Pāṇḍyan king Ugrap-Peruvaḻudi 450-500 A.D. is the probable date of the *Kuṟal*.

Of the eighteen works, eight appear to have been written by poets hailing from Madurai and the Pāṇḍya country. The *Iniyavai-Nārpadu* written by Madurai Tamiḻāśiriyan Maganār Pūdañjēndanār mentions Brahma worship. *Eladi* literally meaning 'cardamom and others' and the *Tiṇaimāḻaimuṟṟaimbadu* were written by Kaṇimēdāviyār, a student of Madurai Āsiriyar Mākkāyanār. It is believed that the author was a Jain, from the introductory verse. But this admits of different interpretations. The *Tinaimāḻai-Nūrraimbadu* belongs to the class of *Agam* works. The *Kār Nāṟpadu* has also an *agam* or love theme. It was written by Maduraikkaṇṇan Kūttanār, a Vaiṣṇava. Māṟōkkattu Muḷḷināttu Nallūrkkāvidiyār Maganār Pullankādanār wrote the *Kainnilai*. The *Sirupancamūlam* ("the five minor roots") takes its name from well-known medicinal preparations. The author was Mākkāriyāśān, a Jain and a student of Madurai Āsiriyar Mākkāyanār. *Mudumolikkāñci* is a short work by Kūdalūr Kiḻār of Madurai. It contains *nīti* maxims in *sūtra* style.

The *Kaḻittogai* and the *Paripāḍal* may be assigned to about the 4th-5th century A.D. The *Kalittogai* belongs to the class of *agam* works and treats of love in the five *tiṇais*. The *Paripāḍal* is so named from the metre of the poems in the collection. Originally it had contained 70 poems, but only 24 songs and a few fragments have now survived. About eight poems had been composed in honour of the city of Madurai but unfortunately all of them have been lost to posterity. The *Paripāḍal* is the first instance of a work set to music. Of the available portions, eight poems are about the Vaigai. The others are in praise of Muruga at Tirupparankuṇḍṟam and Viṣṇu at Tirumāliruñjōlai.

1. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, : *Ilakkiya Manimalai* pp. 107 -108.

The Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram* may be roughly assigned to the 5th-6th century A.D. and is by far the most outstanding work of the Post Sangam epoch. It is said to have been written by Iḷangōvadigaḷ, the brother of Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan. It narrates the popular story of the merchant-prince Kovalan, who neglects his wife Kaṇṇaki and succumbs to the charms of Mādhavi, the famous dancing girl of Puhār. A quarrel between the two and the loss of his fortune makes Kōvalan return to Kaṇṇaki. Then the husband and wife journey to Madurai to sell Kaṇṇaki s jewels, especially her ankle (*śilambu*) and to start a new life. In Madurai Kōvalan is executed owing to the treachery of the royal goldsmith who had stolen the Pāṇḍya Queen's anklet which was similar to Kaṇṇaki's. When Kaṇṇaki proved the innocence of Kōvalan before the king, the Pāṇḍya king realised his injustice and died on the spot. His queen also died immediately afterwards. Kaṇṇaki then burnt the city of Madurai and moved into the Cēra country where she ascended to heaven with Kōvalan. Śenguttuvan, the Cēra king, brought a stone from the Himalayas, made an image of Kaṇṇaki and set up shrines to her as the Goddess of Chastity.

The *Maṇimēkalai* is a Buddhist poem which tells the life story of Maṇimekalai, the daughter of Mādhavi by Kōvalan. Its author was Maduraikkūlavāṇigan Śāttanār, a corn merchant. There has been some confusion between this poet and Śittalai Śattanār, some holding that both were the same. Again, it is held that the authors of the two epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* were contemporaries and that they read out their works to each other. But an examination of the literary style of the two works shows that *Manimēkalai* may be more than a century later than the other epic. In its present form the *Manimēkalai* contains a long passage based on the *Nyāyapravēśa* of Dinnāga, a work of the 5th century A.D. It is not clear whether this is an interpolation or not. One learns much about Buddhism in the Tamil country from *Maṇimēkalai*. The poem says that there was a temple to Cintādēvi (Saraswati) in th city of Madurai.[1]

1. *Manimekalai*; 14 : 10-11, 17-18.

3. General Considerations of the Post Sangam Age

From the literary works of the Sangam age much interesting information may be gathered about the city of Madurai as well as life in the Madurai country. In the *Kalittogai*, there are many references to the Vaigai[1] and Madurai. It is learnt that the Vaigai skirted the rampart walls of the city[2]. The Tirumarudanturai in the Vaigai is mentioned[3]. There was a festival in the city during the early summer months, in honour of Kāma, the God of Love.[4] Tirupparankuṉṟam is mentioned as sacred to Muruga who felled the mango tree in the ocean, and also defeated Śūran[5]. Besides many references to *Kūdal*[6] and *Mādakkudal*[7], the earliest mention of the term *Nānmadākkūdal*[8] to denote the city of Madurai is found in the *Kalittogai*.

The *Paripādal* also gives many interesting details about the city of Madurai and the life of the citizens. The landing stages in the Vaigai,[9] the freshes in the river, the water sports in the Vaigai, and the many festivals celebrated are dealt with in great detail. It was the custom for the bathers to throw in the river, plaques of gold made in the shapes of chanks, crabs and fishes[01] probably as offerings to the river goddess. The Pāṇḍya king also resorted to the Vaigai banks[11]. The Pāṇar on the banks of the river sang the *marudam paṇs*[12]. In the evening the citizens enjoying themselves on the banks of the Vaigai began moving southwards in order to return to the city[13]. This shows that the Vaigai flowed to the north of the city.

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1. *Kalittogai* 27 : 17-20 ; 30: 13-16; 35 : 9-10; 92; 11-13; 98; 10-11; 98: 30-31.
2. Ibid. 67: 1-5; 68: 4-5.
3. Ibid. 26: 13.
4. Ibid. 30: 13-16; 92: 63-68.
5. Ibid. 27: 15-16, 93: 25-8.
6. Ibid. 27: 12, 30:11, 31 : 24-5; 57:8; 92: 11-13.
7. Ibid. 85:17.
8. Ibid. 92:65.
9. *Paripādal* 7:83; 11:30; 22:35.
10. *Paripādal*, 10; 85-88
11. *Paripādal Tirattu* 2:69-72, 90-92.
12. Ibid. 2:73.
13. *Paripādal*. 10:121.

The *Paripāḍal* refers to the temple of Viṣṇu at Irundaiyūr. This is probably the ancient shrine of Kūdal Aḻagar[1] whose abode has as ancient a history as that of God Sundarēśvara at Madurai. Irundaiyūr[2] was probably a suburb of ancient Madurai, though at present the Kūdal Aḻagar Temple is in the heart of the city and near the Sundarēśvara Temple.

The *Paripāḍal* says that the Viṣṇu temple at Irundaiyūr was situated on the *tuṟai* (ghat) of the river which flowed down from the mountains and was welcomed by the people of *Nānmāḍakkūḍal*[3]. On one side of the temple was a hill with many trees[4]. On another side was a beautiful lake with lotus flowers.[5] On another side were agricultural fields.[6] On yet another side was the city. In the city there were many Brahmans who followed the path of *dharma*, and recited the Vēdas.[7] In the *vaṇiga* street lived *vaṇigas* who sold edible articles, cosmetics, dresses, ornaments, gems, gold, mountain produce and the produce of the seas.[8] On another side was the street where lived the *Kaḷamar* and *Uḻavar* who cultivated the wet and dry lands.[9] There was a temple for Ādisēsa in the city[10].

There is a reference to worship at a temple which was situated at some *kuḷavāy*[11]. The meaning of this word is rather obscure. In ancient times it was often the custom to build a city or town by the side of a big tank, particularly to the east side of it. This was probably done to ensure a good water supply for the needs of the city. This custom seems to have been videly prevalent in the Pāṇḍya country where the names of such towns were also associated with the name of the tank near it. For instance, Vēḷūr-Kuḷakkīḻ, Rājasimha Kulak-

1. *Sentamil.* Vol. VIII. p.183.
2. Many Sangam poets appear to have hailed from Irundaiyur e.g. Irumdaiyur Karunkoli Mosiyar, and Irundaiyūr Korram Pulavan.
3. *Paripāḍal Tirattu* 1: 1-6.
4. Ibid. 1; 7-9.
5. Ibid. 1: 10-13.
6. *Paripadal Tirattu.* 1: 14-17.
7. Ibid. 1: 18-21.
8. Ibid. 1: 22-25.
9. Ibid. 1:26-27.
10. Ibid. 1: 48-49.
11. Ibid. 1 :62.

kiḷ and Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ Madurai. In the *Paripāḍal* the reference to the temple (*nagar*) at the *kuḷavāy*[1] is highly reminiscent of the city to the east of Māḍakkuḷam, but it is not clear which temple in the city the poet refers to here.

Several modes of travel are mentioned. People rode on horses, elephants, or mules[2]. There were vehicles drawn by horses or oxen[3], chariots[4] and *śivigais*[5].

A *pulimugamāḍam* is mentioned. This is probably some high tower or terrace with its front made in the shape of a tiger[6].

Many new jewels and ornaments are mentioned such as the waist ornament called the *mēkalai* made up of strings of pearls.[7] *Kānmōdirams* refer probably to toe-rings[8]. The *muñjam* was a jewel worn on the forehead of children[9]. The *vāhuvalayam* was a kind of armlet[10].

Many festivals were celebrated in Madurai. In the month of Mārgaḻi during the Tiruvādirai asterism priests well-versed in the *Āgamas* offered worship to Śiva.[11] The Mārgaḻi festival still continues to be an important one at Madurai. In the early morning the elderly women and young maidens bathed in the Vaigai and performed the *Tainīrāḍal*[12].

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1. "Varaivāy taḷuviya kalśēr kidakkaikkulavāy amarndāṉ nagar."
2. *Paripāḍal.* 10: 14-16, 9; 12:28.
3. Ibid. 10: 16-17.
4. Ibid. 12:29.
5. Ibid. 10:17.
6. *Paripāḍal* 10: 45-46.
7. Ibid. 6: 16-17; 7:46-47; 10:10-11; 22:30. The *mēkalai* is termed *ēṇip-paḍakāl* since it was composed of row upon row of stringed pearls from about two to thirtytwo strings.
8. Ibid. 12:24.
9. Ibid. 16:8.
10. Ibid. 7:47.
11. Ibid. 11: 74-79.
12. Ibid. 11: 91, 115.

Eight poems are in praise of Muruga and give many details about Tirupparankunṟam. In the mornings people crowded on the route from Madurai to Tirupparankunṟam taking with them food and articles for *pūja* to offer worship at the temple of Muruga at Tirupparankunṟam.[1] The Pāṇḍya king with his queens and ministers visited Tirupparankunram, went up the hill, circumambulated the temple of Muruga and offered worship.[2] There was a *citra maṇḍapa*[3] on the hill by the side of the temple. There were paintings here of Sūrya and other planets,[4] of Rati and Manmata[5] and of Akaligai[6] being cursed to become a stone[7].

Six poems are devoted to the praise of Viṣṇu andthe Tirumāliruñjōlai hill. Viṣṇu and Baladēva are said to have been worshipped on the Mālirunkunṟam.[8]

In the *Maduraikkāṇḍam* of the *Śilappadikāram* there are graphic pen pictures of the city of Madurai. While the general picture is more or less similar to that given in the *Maduraikkāñci, viz.*, a description of an ancient city which was well planned and built and well defended and was a busy metropolis, more details are added in the epic in highly poetic language.

The poet describes the route from Uṟaiyūr to Madurai[9]. The distance from Uṟaiyūr to Madurai was 30 *kādams*. The route led through Koḍūmbāḷūr in Pudukkōṭṭai, from where three alternative routes led to Madurai. The route on the right[10] was along Kaḍamba forests and jungles, through the abodes of Eyinars and along the Śirumalai hills. Another route along the left[11] went through fields and jungles to Tirumālkunṟam[12] and thence to Madurai. The route

1. Ibid. 8:90-111; 17:22-25; 19:8-18.
2. Ibid. 19:19-29.
3. 19: 46-57; 18:27-29.
4. Ibid. 19:46-47.
5. Ibid. 19:48.
6. Ibid: 19: 50-52.
7. Ibid. 15 : 49-53.
8. *Paripāḍal* 15: 49-53.
9. *Silappadikāram* xi : 68-149.
10. Ibid., xi : 68-73.
11. Ibid., xi : 87-140.
12. Tirumālirunjōlai.

midway[1] between these led through villages and groves and on the way the traveller had to overcome the wrath of a fierce deity if he wished to reach Madurai.

The poet approaches the city from the Vaigai side and gives an elaborate description of the Vaigai. At the crowded landing stages were moored boats decorated with different prow-heads of various animal forms[2]. Immediately surrounding the city was a moat and beyond it an impenetrable forest. Lofty flags of victory were flying on the outer walls of the fortress[3]. The fortress gates were well guarded by Yavana swordsmen[4]. A narrow passage (*śuranga*) connected the moat with the interior of the city. Above the passage there was a street large enough to admit groups of elephant[5]. On the battlements and ramparts of the city there were many mechanical contrivances for defence[6].

The suburbs[7] (*puṟañjēri*) of the city were inhabited by men practising *dharma*, i.e., ascetics and other *sādhus*. There were many groves parks and lakes here and rest houses and bamboo *pandals* for supplying water.

The city was a well-planned one with bazaars and many broad streets with high and luxurious mansions on both sides. There were the streets where wealthy ladies lived[8]. Accomplished dancers and musicians lived in two big streets[9]. Wealthy merchant princes dealing in gems, diamonds, pearls andgold lived in different streets[10].

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1. Canto xi: 141-149.
2. Canto xiii: 174-80.
3. Canto : 1. 181-190.
4. Canto xiv: 66-67.
5. Canto xiv: 62-65.
6. Ibid. xv: 207-216. There were mechanisms to throw burning oil, molten metal and stones on the besiegers attempting to scale the walls, curious devices such as clutching machines shaped like monkeys, the king fisher device which would pluck out the eyes of the enemy and other mechanisms in the shape of vultures and pigs. There were also mechanical bows with self-projecting arrows.
7. Canto xiii: 191-196.
8. Ibid. xiv. 120-145.
9. Ibid. xiv: 120-145.
10. Ibid. 180-204.

The gold dealers hung flags in front of their shops to indicate the kind of gold available within[1]. The cloth merchants, the corn dealers and the men of the four castes also lived in various streets[2]. Different kinds of cloth made of cotton, hair and silk are mentioned[3]. The high mansions in the city had many storeys with lattice windows and open terraces. Terraces were built in different parts of the house for use during the various seasons of the year[4]. The houses were built by expert architects[5].

The bazaar was a very busy place where a large variety of merchandise was sold and where numerous types of vehicles plied to and fro constantly. The merchandise[6] included such articles as coats of mail, elephant goads, curved bludgeons, various types of shields and other weapons of war, white yak hair, *cauris*, incenses, flowers and perfumed pastes, many articles made of copper and bronze and instruments for ivory cutting and woodwork.

Many types of vehicles were available for transport. There were beautifully ornamented chariots, palanquins (*śivigais*)[7] and covered carts called *vaiyam* and *pāṇḍil*, both probably drawn by bullocks. There was constant movement of the king's warriors, horses, and elephants through the city.

The poem gives some information about the Pāṇḍyan king's palace also. There was the *kaḍaimaṇi* or the Bell of Justice at the gate of the palace[8]. The *purōhita*, the astrologer, the Brāhmana judges, the *kāvidi* or finance minister and other ministers of the king are mentioned[9]. The Pāṇḍya queen was attended upon by a large

1. The varieties of gold known as *Jātarūpa*, *Kiliccirai*, *Adakam* and *Jāmbūnadam* are mentioned.
2. Canto xiv: 205-212.
3. Ibid. 1. 205.
4. Ibid. 11. 83-125.
5. Ibid. 11. 97-98.
6. Ibid. 11. 169-179.
7. Ibid. 11. 126, 168.
8. Canto xx: 8-12; 23: 31-40; 50-63.
9. Canto xxii: 1-15.

number of maids, companions and body gaurds as well as ladies who sang her praise[1]. It is stated that the cowherdesses had to supply ghee to the palace every day by turns[2]. This probably was some tribute in kind and is reminiscent of Megasthenes' account.

In the morning the Brahmans chanted the Vēdas, drums were beaten and conches blown from the various temples in the city, from the king's palace and from the residence of religious men proclaiming the *dharma*[3]. There were temples to Śiva with the eye on His forehead, Viṣṇu with the Garuḍa standard, Baladēva who had the plough and Muruga with the cock flag[4]. A temple of Koṟṟavai[5] and a shrine to Neḍumāl[6] on the banks of the Vaigai are mentioned. The latter is probably a reference to the Kūḍal Aḻagar temple which is identified with the shrine of Śrī Irundavaḷamudaiyār or Andaravānattemberumān[7]. Balarāma and Viṣṇu are spoken of together[8] showing that the worship of Balarāma continued during the time when the epic was written. There was also a temple to Balarāma in the city[9]. The many legends about Kṛṣṇa, his dances with Nappinnai and the Gōpis, as well as the dances of the cowherdesses in honour of Kṛṣṇa show the prevalence and popularity of the Kṛṣṇa cult[10]. Goddess Madhurāpati was the family deity of the Pāṇḍyan kings [11]. When the city of Madurai was consumed by fire the poet says that the guardian deities closed their doors[12]. This probably means that they gave up thier ligitimate function of defending the four gates of the city walls. The guardian deities are described in great detail[13].

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1. Canto xx: 13-23.
2. Canto xvii: 1-10.
3. Canto xiii: 135-150; xiv: 1-14; xvii : 1-10.
4. Canto xiv: 7-10.
5. Ibid. 11. 1-7.
6. Ibid. 11. 1-7.
7. *Sentamiḻ*, Vol. VIII, p. 183.
8. Canto xvii : *Karuppam*
9. Canto xiv. 9.
10. Canto xiv: *Āicciyarkuravai*
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid. xii *Vēttuvavari*
13. Canto xxii: *samba*; xxiii : 1-20.

The *āicciyarkuravai* danced by the cowherdesses[1] in honour of Viṣṇu and the *veṭṭuvavari*[2] performed by hill tribes like the Maṟavar in honour of Korravai are types of religious dances.

B. THE FIRST PAṆḌYAN EMPIRE

1. Political History

The four centuries (roughly 7th-10th cs. A.D.) following the black-out during the Kaḷabhra interregnum were marked by a rapid revival of Pāṇḍya supremacy and in this period a succession of powerful rulers of the dynasty waged battles against their rivals and expanded their domain into the Cōḷa, Pallava and Kongu countries and into the Āy country in the Tinnevelly-Travancore region.

For the history of this period which may be termed the First Empire one has to depend mostly on the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan[3], the Larger and Smaller Sinnamānūr plates of Rājasimha II[4], the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman[5], the two related Ānaimalai stone inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyan and Parāntaka[6] and the Aivarmalai inscription of Varaguṇa dated S.792, *i.e.*, 870 A.D..[7] Pallava and Cōḷa inscriptions and copper plates as well as the account of *Mahāvamṣa* also help to elucidate the history of the period. While the general outline of the genealogy and chronology of the period is more or less clear, there are many problems which are still unsettled. Hence dates could only be provisional and approximate[8].

After the overthrow of the Kaḷabhras and the restoration of the Pāṇḍya dynasty by Kaḍungōn (c. 590-620 A.D.) there were a number

1. Canto xxii: 1-15.
2. Ibid. 1. 16-108.
3. E.I. Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff.
4. S.I. I. Vol. III, pt. iv. p. 144 ff.
5. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII, p. 57 ff.
6. M.E.R. 453 and 454 of 1906.
7. M.E.R. 705 of 1905.
8. For this section the genealogical and chronological scheme suggested by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his works is mainly followed.

of Pāṇḍya rulers with the titles Māṟañjaḍaiyan and Śaḍaiyanmāṟan alternating. Apart from what is given in the Tamil portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, little is known about Kaḍungōn and his son Māṟavarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi (c. 620-45 A.D.). Śēndan or Jayantavarman (c. 645-70 A.D.) succeeded his father Māṟavarman. The Vēḷvikkudi grant calls him *Vēndarvēndan* and "*Śilaiṭṭaḍakkaikkolaikkaḷiṟṟuccеliyan*" ("Śeliyan who possessed long hands holding the bow and furious elephants").[1] His title *Vānavan* seems to indicate some victory over the Cēras.

Śēndan's successor, evidently his son[2], was Arikēśari Parānkuśa Māṟavarman (c. 670-700 A.D.). He was one of the greatest and most renowned of the rulers of this age. The Smaller Śinnamānūr plates call him Arikēsari Asamasaman Alanghiyavikraman Akālakālan Māṟavarman[3]. By his conquests he greatly expanded the Pāṇḍyan power. Under him began the Pāṇḍya-Pallava contest for supremacy in the Tamil country. He defeated the Pallavas at Śankaramangai[4]. At this time the Cāḷūkya Vikramāditya I was also ranged against the Pallava. During his campaigns he appears to have penetrated far into the Tamil country. An allliance between him and his contemporary Pāṇḍya Arikēsari against their common force, the Pallava, is not very improabable. Arikēsari won successes against the Kēralas several times[5]. He also defeated the Paravar[6] and the people of Kuṟunāḍu[7]. His victory at Nelveli has been mentioned in literary works also[8]. Some of his other successes were at

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1. Line 50.
2. Velvikkudi grant, 1.51 says, *marranarkuppalippinri vaḻittonri*. Dr. Winslow gives under *vali*, the phrase *valittonral* in the sense of a "son".
3. Lines 15-16; The Velvikkudi grant calls him Māravarman and Arikeśari Asamasaman (v. 6 and 1.62). While the Larger Sinnamānūr Plates call him Arikesari and Parānkusa (v. 10, 1. 105.)
4. Larger Sinnamanur Plates 11. 104-105.
5. Velvikkudi grant 11. 56-57.
6. The Paravar may be the Paradavar on the southern coastal region of the Pandya country.
7. Velvikkudi grant, 11. 54-55.
8. *Periyapurāṇam* (No. 50) Ninrasīr Nedumāranāyanār; Sundarar in *Tiruttondattogai* (st. 8: 3-4) also mentions this victory.

Pāḷi, Śennilam and Puliyūr[1]. The identity of some of these battle fields is not clear. To celebrate his achievements he performed *hiraṇyagarbha* and *tulābhāra* several times.[2]

Arikēsari Māravarman has been identified with the traditional Kūn Pāṇḍya or Ninṟaśīr Neḍumāra Nāyanār who was weaned from Jainism to Śaivism by the great Śaiva saint Jñānasambandar. According to the *Periyapurāṇam* and the *Madurai Śthalapurāṇas* his queen was a Cōḷa princess, Mangaiyarkaraśi, and his minister, Kulaccirai, both of whom are also included in the list of 63 Śaiva saints.

Arikēsari's son Jaṭila or Kōccaḍaiyan *alias* Raṇadhīra (c. 700-730 A.D.) was also a great conqueror. His aggressive wars helped to expand the Pāṇḍya power in various directions. The Āys of the hilly region between Travancore and Tinnevelly were defeated at Marudūr.[3] His title *Kongarkōmān* suggests his conquest of the Kongus and Pāṇḍya expansion into Kongu country. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant says that he defeated the Mahārathar at the big city (*mahānagara*) of Mangalapuram (modern Mangalore)[4]. This probably refers to some expedition to the west coast about which not much is known at present. Kōccaḍaiyan is called "Tenna-Vānavan Śembiyan Śōḷan". These indicate that he considered himself the overlord of the Cēras and Cōḷas. He had the title *Madhurakarunātakan*[5]. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant also mentions victories at Śengoḍi and Pudankodu[6].

Raṇadhīra's son Māṟavarman Rājasimha I (c. 730-65 A.D.) was again a powerful ruler. He appears to have supported the cause of Citramāya, a pretender to the Pallava throne. Soon after his accession Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (c. 730-796 A.D.) had to

1. Velvikkudi grant 11. 53, 56 and 58.
2. Ibid. v. 8, 11. 60-61.
3. Probably Tiruppudaimarudur near Ambasamudram. The victory at Marudur is mentioned by the Smaller Sinnamānūr Plates (11. 27-28) and Velvikkudi grant (11. 63-64).
4. Velvikkudi grant, 11. 65-67.
5. This had evidently some connection with the defeat of the Kalabhras, as explained earlier in this chapter.
6. Lines 64-65.

face a hostile combination organised by the Pāṇḍyas. Nandivarman was besieged by Rājasimha at Nandipura (near Kumbakonam) but was released by his general Udayacandra who killed Citramāya and claimed several victories in the Tanjore district[1], where the two parties seem to have fought many battles. While Pallava copper plates hint at a few Pāṇḍya reverses the Pāṇḍya king claims to have inflicted a number of defeats on the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla[2]. The Pāṇḍya king had the title *Pallavabhañjana*[3]. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant mentions a number of victories won by the king.[4] In the Kongu country Pāṇḍya sway may have extended upto Pāṇḍikkoḍumuḍi where Rājasimha is stated to have offered worship to Paśupathi.

Maḻakongam on the borderland between the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts was subjugated. The Maḻava princess was then married to the Pāṇḍya king[5]. Rājasimha came into conflict with the Cāḷukya Kīrttivarman II and his Gangā feudatory Śrīpuruṣa, both of whom were defeated at Veṇbai[6]. He then married a Gangā princess[7].

Rājasimha was succeeded by his son Parāntaka *alias* Neḍuñjaḍaiyan who was one of the greatest imperialists of the age. He was the son of the Maḻava queen. He was known by many names like Jaṭila, Māṟanjaḍaiyan and Varaguṇa Mahārāja (I). He had a long reign of about 50 years (c. 765-815 A.D.). He was the donor of the famous Vēḷvikkuḍi grant (the earliest of the Pāṇḍya copper plate grants so far found) and the Madras Museum plates.

Early in his reign he won a great victory over the Pallava king (Kāḍava), evidently Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, at Peṇṇāgaḍam on the south bank of the Kāvēri[8]. The Pallava allied with the kings

1. Udayēndiram plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, No. 74.
2. Velvikkudi grant, v. 12, ll. 77-78.
3. Madras Museum plates, v. 5.
4. Lines 71-79 refer to the victories at Neduvayal, Kurumadai, Mannikkuricci, Tirumangai, Puvalur, Kodumbalur and Periyalur.
5. Velvikkudi grant, v. 14.
6. Velvikkudi grant, ll. 128-129.
7. Ibid. ll. 84, 126-127.
8. Velvikkudi grant, ll. 92-94.

of Kongu and Kērala as well as the Adigaimān of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri). But the Pāṇḍya defeated them in a number of battles, captured the king of Western Kongu and imprisoned him at Madruai[1]. The Trichinopoly inscription of his 11th year[2] states that the king destroyed Vēmbil and was encamped at Niyamam, both of which are in the Cōḷa country. A record of the 16th year[3] shows that the king had advanced far into the Pallava domain and fixed his camp at Araiśūr on the banks of the Peṇṇār in Toṇḍaināḍ. Parāntaka also defeated the Āy chieftain[4] and the king of Vēṇāḍ[5] and destroyed Viḻiñam. Perhaps in orderto keep these newly conquered southern regions under efficient control, he fortified Karavandapuram (Ukkirankōṭṭai)[6] in Tinnevelly, the home of the Vaidyakula family; many of whose members served in various capacities under the Pāṇḍya rulers of this period. Parāntaka's extensive conquests led to the expansion of Pāṇḍya territory into Cōla, Pallava, Kongu and Vēṇāḍ countries. The Pāṇḍya empire stretched from the extreme south to a part of Toṇḍaināḍ in the north and included Vēṇāḍ, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem and Coimbatore.

Parāntaka's indefatigable activities were not confined to mere wars and conquests. He was a great builder and a liberal benefactor of temples. Parāntaka made liberal grants to the temples at Tiruccendūr, Ambasamudram and Trichinopoly[7]. He is stated to have built a large Viṣṇu temple at Kāncivāyppērūr in the Kongu country[8]. His reign was characterised by much building activity. Many rock-cut temples and shrines were either excavated or added to. For instance, the Narasimha temple on the Ānaimalai hill near Madurai was excavated by the famous Māṛangāri brothers who were the Pāndya *Uttaramantrins*.

1. Madras Museum plates, ll. 31-33.
2. M.E.R. 414 of 1904.
3. M.E.R. 105 of 1905.
4. M.E.R. 43 of 1908; Velvikkudi grant, ll. 94-95.
5. Madras Museum plates ll. 39-42.
6. E.I. Vol. XXIII, No. 45.
7. M.E.R. 26 of 1912, 414 of 1904, 105 of 1905 respectively.
8. Madras Museum plates ll. 34-36.

Some scholars connect the name of Parāntaka with the Śaiva saint Māṇikkavācakar, who, according to legend, is stated to have been the minister of a Pāṇḍya king[1].

The son and successor of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan was Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabha (c. 815-862 A.D.) who had the titles *Ekavīra* and *Paracakrakōlāhala*. He won victories at Kuṉṉūr and Viḻiñam [2]. The larger Sinnamānūr plates refer to the king's victory over the king of Simhaḷa (Ceylon)[3]. The *Mahāvamśa* gives a fuller account of the Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon[4]. Śrīvallabha invaded the island of Ceylon in the reign of Sēṇa I (831-51 A.D.), ravaged the northern parts of the island and sacked the capital Anurādhapura. Sēna I was defeated and fled to the Malaya country. Finally the fugitive king made a treaty with the Pāṇḍya victor.

Srivallabha's reign was marked by victories as well as reverses in the contest against the Pallavas. The Pallava king Nandivarman III (844-66 A.D.) joined with the Gangas and Cōḷas and probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also and severely defeated the Pāṇḍya king at Teḷḷāṟu (North Arcot district). On account of this victory Nandivarman took the title "Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda"[5]. Later on Śrīvallabha won a great victory at Kuḍamūkku (Kumbakonam) in about 859 A.D. against a formidable combination of the Gangas, Pallavas, Cōḷas, Kalingas, Magadhas and others[6]. But subsequently he was defeated at the Aricit[7] by the Pallava Nṛpatungavarman who had succeeded Nandivarman.

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1. While the general opinion now is that Manikkavacaka succeeded the Devaram trio it is not possible at present to assign the saint definitely to the reign of either of the two Varagunas known to history. If Manikkavacaka lived in the 9th century A.D. his Pandyan contemporary was most probably Varaguna II (862-80 A.D.)

2. Larger Sinnamanur plates, ll. 108-109.

3. The larger Sinnamanur plates (v.11) state that Srimara conquered in battle Maya Pandya, the Kerala, the king of Simhala the Pallava and the Vallabha.

4. Wijesinha's translation of *Mahavamsa*, Chaps. l & li.

5. M.E.R. 180 of 1907, 144 of 1929.

6. Larger Sinnanmanur plates, ll. 110-113; Bahur plates of Nrpatungavarman E.I., Vol. XVIII, No. 2.

7. The river Arisil, a branch of the Kaveri.

The later years of Śrīvallabha were clouded not only by the defeat at Aricit but also by other reverses. The *Mahāvamśa* states[1] that Sēna II (851-885 A.D.), the successor of Sēna I, supported the cause of one Māya Pāṇḍya, a pretender, and invaded the Pāṇḍya country. While the Larger Śinnamānūr plates state that the Pāṇḍya king conquered in battle Māya Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon, the *Mahāvamśa* gives a detailed account of Pāṇḍya reverses. It states that the Ceylonese invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom, surrounded and sacked the capital Madurai, that Śrīvallabha died of wounds and that his son Varaguṇavarman II was placed on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Ceylonese commander-in-chief in 862 A.D.[2]. It is not clear whether the highly coloured account of the Ceylonese Chronicle should be accepted in its entirety.

Srīmāṟa's successor was Varaguṇavarman II (862-880 A.D.). To check the Pallava power, Varaguṇavarman led an expedition against Iḍavai in the Cōḷa country (c. 879 A.D.)[3]. But soon he had to face a powerful confederacy headed by the Pallava Aparājita, the son of Nṛpatungavarman, the Cōḷa Āditya I and the Western Ganga Prithivīpati I. At the decisive battle of Srīpuṟambiyam[4] near Kumbakonam in about 880 A.D. the Pāṇḍya king was completely defeated, although the Western Ganga Prithivīpati I lost his life in the battle. Śrīpuṟambiyam was one of the most decisive battles in the history of South India. The Pāṇḍya power was shaken and it took several centuries for the kingdom to assert itself once again.

Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan (880-900 A.D.), the younger brother of Varaguṇavarman, was the next ruler. The Larger Śinnamānūr plates state that he won several successes at Śennilam Kharagiri, Nilamber and Peṇṇāgaḍam as well as in Kongu country[5].

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1. *Mahavamsa* chap. li.

2. W. Geiger Tr., *Culavamsa* p. 150. The Ceylonese *senapati* is stated to have laid waste the Pandya country and "surrounded the town of Madhura. He blockaded the gates, cut off all traffic and set fire to towers, bastions and gates".

3. M.E.R. 690 of 1905.

4. Udayendiram plates of Prithivipati II; S. I.I. Vol.II, No. 76 v. 18; M.E.R. 337 of 1912.

5. Verse 13, ll. 118-121; Verse 13 says that he captured in a battle near Kharagiri the powerful king Ugra.

He was succeeded by his son Māṟavarman Rājasimha II (900-920 A.D.), the donor of the Larger Sinnamānūr plates. He won victories at Ulappilimangalam, defeated the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbāḷūr), the seat of one of the powerful Cōḷa subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of Southern Tañjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cōḷas) at Nāval[1]. The Pāṇḍya king appears to have had a serious antagonist in the Cōḷa Parāntaka I (907-955 A.D.) who led several expeditions against the Pāṇḍyas. Parāntaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country soon after his accession and took the title "*Madiraikoṇḍa*" ("who captured Madurai") as early as his thid year[2]. A later successful campaign against Madurai and the Pāṇḍya king is probably the one referred to in the account given in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivipati[3]. The Pāndya king appealed for help to Kasṣapa V, the ruler of Ceylon who sent an army to his aid. But Parāntaka defeated the combined armies in the decisive battle at Vēḷūr, probably in about 915 A.D.[4] Rājasimha fled to Ceylon first and later to Keraḷa after leaving behind his crown and jewels in Ceylon[5]. Parāntaka soon completed the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country. This brought about the end of the First Empire of the Pāṇḍyas.

2. ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST PĀṆḌYAN EMPIRE

(i) Administration

Details of Government and administration during the post-Sangam period and the age of the First Pāṇḍyan Empire have to be placed together from literary evidences and from stray references in the copper plates and inscriptions pertaining to the period.

The king who was the head of the administration seems to have ruled the kingdom with the help of ministers. The chief minister was called the *Uttaramantri*. Māṟankāri of the Vaidyakula of Kara,

1. Larger Sinnamanur plates ll. 127-137; S.I.I. Vol. III, pt. iv. p. 449.
2. M.E.R. 157 of 1928 and 11 of 1931.
3. S.I.I. Vol. II, No. 76, vv. 9-11.
4. M.E.R. 231 of 1926; S.I.I. Vol. III, No. 99.
5. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 53, vv. 5 ff.

vandapura was the *Uttaramantri* or the Chief Minister of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan[1]. After his death his brother Māṟan Eyinan became the Pāṇḍya *Uttaramantri*[2].

Many members of the Vaidyakula family appear to have served as royal ministers or generals under the Pāṇḍyas. Mūrti Eyinan[3], perhaps another brother of Māṟankāri, was *Mahāsāmanta*[4] of the king. Śāttan Gaṇapati who was also a *Mahāsāmanta* in the sixth year of the king's reign was another member of the same family[5].

Ēnādi Śāttan Śāttan was the brother of Śāttan Gaṇapati and was the *Sēnāpati* or commander-in-chief[6]. Mention is made of a *Mahānāyaka* whose functions are not definitely known[7]. An inscription of the fortysecond year of Māṟañjaḍaiyan from Kaḻugumalai[8] refers to "Tirumalai Vīrar" and "Parāntaka Vīrar". Perhaps these are the names of regiments or groups of soldiers. An officer in charge of elephants, the *Matangajādhyakṣa*, is referred to in the Madras Museum plates[9].

For local administration the country was divided into *vaḷanāḍus*[10], *nāḍus kūṟṟams* and *grāmas*. The *nāḍu* is termed *rāṣṭra*[11] in the Sanskrit part of the Larger Sinnamanūr plates. The *grāmam* or village was the unit of local administration. The names of *grāmams* usually end in *maṅgalam*, *kuḍi*, and *ūr*. Generous gifts of whole villages were

1. M.E.R. 453 and 454 of 1906.

2. M.E.R. 453 of 1906.

3. *Ajnapati* of the Madras Museum plates.

4. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam (*South Indian Polity*, p. 116) says that the *mahasamanta* was probably a minister in charge of the department dealing with feudal vassals and as such had a place in the king's council.

5. Madras Museum plates and M.E.R. 37 of 1908 I.A.Vol. 22 pp. 67 and 71.

6. Velvikkudi grant, ll. 139-140.

7. M.E.R. 194 and 196 of 1936.

8. M.E.R. 863 of 1917.

9. Madras Museum plates, ll. 72-75.

10. M.E.R. 155 of 1903 of Varaguna II mentions *amidagunavalanadu* and *valudivalanadu*.

11. Larger Sinnamanur plates, vv. 25-27, 28-32.

made by kings to temples and to individuals. Inscriptions of the period give very interesting and minute details about the form and procedure of granting lands and villages. The boundary of the village to be given as a gift was generally fixed by letting loose a female elephant and following its track. The Larger Śinnamānūr plates mention that *Nakkan Kumān* was the master of the female elephant and that *Nakkan Kāḍa*, *Kōn Vēḷān* and *Paṭāran-cōlai* were three accountants appointed to supervise the circumambulation of the female elephant[1]. The female elephant referred to here was evidently the one used for fixing the boundaries of the gift villages of Naṟceygaiputtūr. The royal order regarding the gift was called *ājñapti* or *āṇatti*, and was carefully engraved on copper plates, under the supervision of a high officer of the State[2]. The scribes were generally the *Perumpaṇaikkārans* of the kings. Though *paṇai* may be rendered as "drum", it seems to have other meanings also such as "a row of horses" in which case the term may stand for a Chief Cavalry Officer or something similar[3].

Māṟañjaḍaiyan alias Varaguṇa Mahārāja made liberal gifts to the temples at Tiruccendūr, Ambāsamudram, Trichinopoly and Javanthināthapuram. The inscriptions referring to these[4] give many interesting details about the nature of permanent endowments, rates of interest, standards of currency, administration of fixed deposits by temple servants and trustees and details of temple services and offerings. They also mention the *sabhā*, the *sabhai vāriyam* and merchant corporations[5].

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1. vv. 35-36.

2. The *ajnaptis* of the Velvikkudi grant, the Madras Museum plates and the Larger and Smaller Sinnamanur plates were the minister Marangari, Dhirataran Murti Eyinan, a *Mahasamanta*, *Kurrangon* (the king's "servant") and Tayan Singan, the *Uttaramantri* of Kundur in Kundur Kurram of Andanadu, respectively.

3. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 88, n. 1; The Velvikkudi grant was engraved by Yuddakesari Pandya, Perumpanaikkaran, Madras Museum Plates by Pandipperumpanaikkaran *alias* Arikesari and the Smaller Sinnamanur plates by Arikesari, son of Pandi Perumpanaikkaran.

4. M.E.R. 26 of 1912 and 155 of 1903, both from Tiruccendur: M.E.R. 104 and 105 of 1905 from Ambasamudram ; 104 of 1947 from Javantinathapuram.

5. M.E.R. 414 of 1904 from Trichinopoly mentions the *Pati* of Cirrambar and the servants of the temple or the *Padamulattom*. The *Pati* is probably the head of a merchant corporation or a royal officer.

The Mānūr inscription (35th regnal year) of Māṟañjaḍaiyan[1] contains rules for membership of the village *sabhā*. It is of special significance since it is more than a century earlier than the Uttaramerūr inscriptions of the time of the Cōḷa Parāntaka I dealing with Cōḷa village administration. From this record it is learnt that qualifications of property and learning were prescribed for membership of the village *sabhā*.

A detailed account of membership and the working of the committee are given. "It is stated that of the children of shareholders in the village, only one, who is well behaved and has studied the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* and one *dharma* (*i.e.* Code of Law) may be on the village assembly (*manṟu*) to represent the share held by him in the village and only one of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a share purchased, received as present or acquired by him as *stridhana* (through his wife); (2) that (shares) purchased, presented or acquired as *stridhana* could entitle one, if at all, only to full membership in the assemblies; and in no case will quarter, half or three-quarter membership be recognised; (3) that those who purchase shares must elect only such men to represent their shares on the assembly, as have critically studied a whole Veda with its *pariśiṣṭas*; (4) that those who do not possess full membership as laid down by rule (2), cannot stand on any committee (*vāriyam*) for the management of village affairs; (5) that those who satisfy the prescribed conditions should in no case persistently oppose (in the proceedings of the assembly) by saying "nay, nay" to every proposal brought up before the assembly; and (6) that those who do this together with their supporters will pay a fine of five *kāśus* on each item (in which they so behaved) and still continue to submit to the same rules". The existence of these village assemblies and their committees in the Madurai country is known from other inscriptions of the period also[2].

Information regarding other committees are given in some *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* inscriptions. A damaged *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* epigraph of Śaḍaiyan Māṟan gives the name of an assembly called *Pāśupatapperumakkaḷ*

1. M.E.R. 423 of 1906 from Manur; E.I. XXII, pp. 9-11.

2. M.E.R. 70 of 1905 mentions the *sabha* of Narasingamangalam; M.E.R. 34 of 1947; M.E.R. 604 of 1915.

whose function is not given in the record.[1] Another *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* record of Māṟañjaḍaiyan mentions some provisions for two water sheds of which one is called "*muunūṟṟuvapperum pandal*"[2]. This is presumably named after an assembly of the locality consisting of 300 members ("*muunūṟṟuvar*").

The department concerned with the *puravuvari* which may be taken to mean land tax or land revenue assessment, became very important during the mediaeval period. Even under the Pāṇḍyas of the First Empire there are several references to it[3]. Gifts were placed under the protection of the *puravuvari karaṇattār*[4]. South India being an essentially rural and agricultural country, land tax was an important source of revenue from very early times. *Puravu* seems to be a term of great antiquity since it occurs in Sangam literature also[5].

Facts about weights and measures and currency could also be gathered from inscriptions. Two *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* records of about the 10th c. A.D. refer to the standard measures *śōḻiyam* and *nārāyanāḻi*[6]. Another record mentions the liquid measure *Śōḻāntakan nāḻi*[7]. The Madurai coin with the legend "Śrī Avanipaśēkaran Gōḷaga"[8] has the emblem of the double fish on its obverse and is evidently a coin issued by the Pāṇḍya king, Avanipaśēkhara alias Śrīvallabha, the father of Varaguna II. The gold coin *kāśu* or *kaḻañju*[9] known also as *kṛṣṇa kāca* was in use. The coin *dināra* is also mentioned[10].

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1. M.E.R. 440 of 1917.
2. M.E.R. 12 of 1929.
3. M.E.R. 70 of 1905 mentions the *puravu variyar*, M.E.R. 68 of 1905, the *tinaikkalattar*, M.E.R. 69 of 1905, the *karanattar* and M.E.R. 74 of 1905, the *puravuvarikkaranattar*.
4. M.E.R. 74 of 1905.
5. In *Puram* 75: 4, *puravu* means *araśirai* or tax paid to the kings. In *Puram* 297: 5 the commentator says that *puravu* means *iraiyili* land.
6. M.E.R. 194 of 1933 and 203 of 1936.
7. M.E.R. 423 of 1914.
8. I.A. vol. XXI, p. 323; M.E.R. 1930, pt. II, para 4.
9. M.E.R. 90 of 1908; M.E.R. 360 of 1921.
10. M.E.R. 136 of 1908.

Several epigraphs give the interesting information that gifts and endowments to certain temples were placed under the protection of mercantile corporations and soldiers. Two records register an agreement for the supply of ghee to a temple in return for the gift of 50 sheep. The gift and the inscribed stones were placed under the protection of the *nagarattār* and the soldiers (*madil-cevagar*, rampart guards)[1]. Placing temples and temple property also under military protection seems to have been an ancient custom[2].

Epigraphs refer to the names of various temple functionaries. The temple functionaries mentioned in one of the records include the bodies *Śaḷḷapperumakkaḷ*, the *Aganāḷigaiyār*, the *Padiyār* the *Pañcā-cāriyar*, and the *Uvaccar*[3]. In later inscriptions the third and fourth bodies are spoken of together as *paṭipādamūlapañcācāriyar*.

(*ii*) *Literature*

In the field of literature the works of the *Dēvāram* trio and the *Tiruvāśagam* and *Tirukkōvai* of Māṇikkavācaka as well as the hymns of the Āḻvārs belong to this period. The writing of poems in the form of a *kōvai* seems to have become very popular during this period. The *Pāṇḍikkōvai* which was written during this period is available only in numerous citations. It was sung in honour of a Pāṇḍya king.[4] The commentary of the *Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ* traditionally ascribed to Nakkīrar, may be assigned to about the 8th c. A.D. It is one of the earliest of Tamil prose commentaries. A record of the reign of Neḍumāran Śrīvallavan[5] mentions a chief Etti Śāttan who came of the family of one (a poet) who had the distinction of being seated on the stone slab at Kūdal (*i.e.* Madurai), famous

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1. M.E.R. 194 and 196 of 1936.

2. M.E.R. 167 of 1909 (in Coimbatore District) from Sangramanallur states that the *gopura*, the temple and its precincts were placed under the protection of soldiers. 120 of 1905 from Tiruvalisvaram states that the local temple, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Cola army called *murrukai-mahāsēnai*.

3. M.E.R. 228 of 1933; Report Pt. II, para 29.

4. The hero of the poem was probably Arikesari Maravarman (c. 670-700 A.D.)

5. M.E.R. 334 of 1930.

for its Tamil. The *Muttoḷḷāyiram*, of which only 100 verses are known now, was also composed during this age. Originally it was a work of 900 *veṇbās*, 300 each in praise of each of the three Tamiḷ monarchs. It is not known who was the author of this work. *Kallāḍam* written by Kallāḍanār has as its basis Māṇikkavācaka's *Tirukkōvai* and refers to about 30 *Tiruviḷaiyāḍals* of God Sundarēśvara. Though its style is rather stilted and pedantic it is the earliest attempt at collecting together the legends regarding the God of Madurai. On the whole the literature of the period is tinged with a sense of deep religious fervour and devotion.

(iii) *Religion*

As said earlier Hinduism seems to have flourished side by side with Buddhism and Jainism during the Sangam Age in the early centuries of the Christian era. About the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. Jainism, Buddhism and other unorthodox or *avaidika* religious sects seem to have risen to such prominence in the Tamil country that they affected even the established political order of the country. Though there was much literary activity there is hardly any direct information relating to the social and political history during the period commonly designated as the Kaḷabhra interregnum. After the overthrow of the Kaḷabhras by Kaḍungōn and his successors many Hindu religious reformers such as the Śaiva Nāyanārs and the Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs arose and tried to suppress the heretical sects. As a result of their efforts Buddhism declined in South India. Jainism was not, however, completely suppressed though it received a setback and lost the position of predominance it had acquired.

THE NAYANARS : It is now generally agreed that of the Śaiva Nāyanārs Appar and Jñānasambandar were contemporaries and that Sundarar lived two or three decades after Appar's death in about 681 A.D.[1]. It is, however, not certain whether Māṇikkavācaka preceded or followed the *Dēvāram* trio. Of the Śaiva reformers who belonged to this period Jñānasambandar, a Brahman youth

1. In his book *Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India* (p. 462) C. V. Narayana Iyer gives the following dates to the four Saiva saints: Appar (600-681 A.D.), Sambandar (644-660 A.D.) and Manikkavacaka (660-692 A.D.) and Sundarar ("must have lived for 18 years any time between A.D. 710 and A.D. 735").

from Sīrkali (Shiyali) in Tanjore district and Māṇikkavācakar hailing from Tiruvādavūr made the greatest contributions for the Śaiva revival in the Madurai country. Jñānasambandar lived in the middle of the 7th c. A.D. He is stated to have composed 10,000 hymns during his brief lifetime of 16 years. Of these only 384 hymns have come down to us today and constitute the first three books of the Śaiva canon (*Tirumurai*). Sambandar denounces the Jains and Buddhists in almost every hymn. He visited a large number of temples singing the glories of Śiva. He is famous for the miraculous cure of Kūn Pāṇḍya[1] and the conversion of the king from Jainism to Śaivism. According to tradition Kūn Pāṇḍya's queen Mangaiyarkkaraśi and Kulacciṟai, the minister, who were ardent Saivas, invited Śambandar to Madurai to free the king and the country from the influence of Jainism which was then predominant there. Sambandar visited Madurai and defeated the Jains in various religious contests and disputes, cured the king of a malignant fever and won back the ruler and his subjects to Saivism. Śambandar's efforts were largely responsible for the decline and downfall of Jainism in Madurai and the Tamil country. There is a shrine dedicated to Jñānasambandar in the Madurai temple.

Māṇikkavācaka was born in Tiruvādavūr near Madurai in the Mēlūr taluk. He is also known as Tiruvādavūrar after the name of his native town. He became a great scholar while still in his teens. He is traditionally known to have been the minister of Arimardhana Pāṇḍya. God Sundarēśvara of Madurai is said to have performed many miracles on his behalf.[2]

Latterly Māṇikkavācaka left the services of the Pāṇḍya king and dvoted himself to the service of God. He visited many shrines of South India singing the praise of God. At Chidambaram he is stated to have vanquished the Buddhists from Ceylon, in religious debates. As a poet and mystic Māṇikkavācaka occupies a unique place in the history of Tamil sacred literature. His *Tiruvācakam* forms the eighth book of the Śaiva canon.

1. As stated earlier, Kūn Pāṇḍya is generally identified with Arikēśari Māravarman (670-700 A.D.)

2. Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyāḍal* (Nos. 27-30); Paranjoti's *Tiruvilaiyāḍal*, Nos. 58-61.

THE ĀḶVĀRS : The revival of orthodox Hinduism in the Tamil country was due not only to the indefatigable efforts of the Śaiva Nāyanārs but also to the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs. Of the twelve Āḻvārs, four hailed from the Pāṇḍya country. They were Nammāḻvār, Madhurakavi Āḻvār, Periyāḻvār and Āṇḍāḷ. Nammāḻvār was the greatest of them all. He was a Vellāḷa from Āḻvār Tirunagari (Kurugūr) in Tinnevelly district. He wrote the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, the *Tiruviruttam, Tiruvāśiriyam* and *Periya Ttiruvandādi*. His hymns form the second largest individual total in the *Nālāyira Prabandham* collection. His disciple was Madhurakavi. Attempts have been made to identify Madhurakavi with Māṟankāri, the minister of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (765-815 A.D.)[1].

Periyāḻvār (aslo known as Viṣṇucitta and Bhaṭṭarpirān) was a Brahman of Śrīvilliputtūr (Ramnad district) who lived about the close of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century A.D. He wrote the *Tiruppallāṇḍu* and about 500 hymns in the *Nālāyira Prabandham* collection. He is reputed to have won in a religious disputation in the court of the Pāṇḍya king, Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (815-62 A.D). His daughter Āṇḍāḷ or Kōdai is one of the greatest of women mystics. Her hymns reflect her intense devotion to Viṣṇu. She wrote the *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi* and the *Tiruppāvai*.

JAINISM : Jainism which had existed side by side with Hinduism in the Sangam Age spread rapidly and gained great prominence in the Madurai country from the 5th century onwards. But owing to the efforts of Śaiva Nāyanārs like Sambandar about the 7th c. A.D. it received a serious setback. Jainism continued to survive to some extent in the Madurai country and this is borne out by epigraphic evidences. Many Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions of about the 8th to 10th c. A.D. found in the Madurai region as well as in other parts of the Pāṇḍya country speak of several Jaina religious teachers, Jain *paḷḷis*, the erection of Jaina temples and images and the gifts to Jain temples. A record in Tamil verse[2] says

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1. Venkayya in M.E.R. 1908 pt. II, paras 33-35; T.A. Gopinatha Rao: *Sri Vaisnavas* pp. 18-20.

2. M.E.R. 334 of 1930.

that during the reign of Neḍumāṟan Śrīvallabha, the chief of Iruppaikkuḍi, Eṭṭi Śāttan erected at Iruppaikkuḍi a big Jain *paḷḷi* with a pavilion and a hall. Rājasimha I is also said to have made gifts to Jain or Buddhist temples besides gifts of *brahmadēyas* and *dēvadānas*. The gift to Jain or Buddhist temples was known as *paḷḷiccandam*[1]. Often such gifts were placed under the protection of the "*Paḷḷiccivigaiyār*"[2]. Boundaries of these gift lands were marked by stones with triple umbrellas[3].

Tradition says that there were 8000 Jains living in eight hills around Madurai. An old poem gives the names of these eight hills as Paranguṉṟam, Oruvagam, Pappāram, Paḷḷi, Aruṅguṉṟam, Pērānda, Yānai and Iruṅguṉṟam[4]. Of these Paranguṉṟam may be identified with Tiruppaṟankuṉṟam to the south-west of Madurai, Yānai with Ānaimalai to the north-east of Madurai and Iruṅguṉṟam with Tirumāliruñjōlai. Paḷḷi probably refers to the Tiruppaḷḷimalai near Nārttāmalai in Pudukkōṭṭai. There was a small Jain *maṭha* and shrine at Tiruppaḷḷimalai[5]. The identification of the other hills is not very clear. Sambandar also refers to the many Jains in Yānaimalai and other places[6]. The numerous Jain inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and figures in high or low relief in many of the mountain regions surrounding Madurai such as Ānaimalai[7], Śamaṇamalai near Kīḻakkuḍi[8], Kongarpuḷiyankuḷam[9], and Muttuppaṭṭi[10] and the names of Jaina teachers, disciples and shrines mentioned in these inscriptions indicate that Jainism was prevalent in the environs of Madurai about the 9th c. A.D. The various versions of the Madurai *Tiruviḷaiyādal Purāṇa* also speak of the 8000 Jains vanquished by Sambandar. The figure 8000 may be merely a convention to indicate a large number of Jains.

1. M.E.R. 605 of 1915.
2. M.E.R. 61 and 62 of 1910.
3. I.P.S. No. 658.
4. *Peruntogai*, No. 183, p. 48.
5. I.P.S. No. 658.
6. *Tiruvalavay Padigam.*
7. M.E.R. 66-74 of 1905.
8. M.E.R. 63-69 of 1910.
9. M.E.R. 330-32 of 1908, 54 of 1910.
10. M.E.R. 61-62 of 1910

The Jaina Sangha was divided into the *Nandi*, *Sēna*, *Simha* and *Dēva gaṇas*. The names of the religious teachers occurring in the inscriptions from the Madurai country indicate that they belonged to various sects and sections of Jainism. Ajjanandi, Kanakanandi and others belonged to the *Nandi gaṇa*[1]. Indrasēṇa and Guṇasēna belonged to the *Sēna gaṇa*. Those belonging to the *Simha gaṇa* had the title *vīra*. Thus Kanakavīra was of the *Simha gaṇa* while Baladēvakuravaḍigaḷ probably belonged to the *Dēva gaṇa*.

The Jaina teacher, Ajjanandi seems to have exercised great influence and is mentioned in a large number of inscriptions[2] from the Madurai district. Names of other Jain teachers could also be gathered from the epigraphs of the region. For instance, Indrasēna[3], Mallisēnapperiyār[4], Pārśvapaḍāra[5], Ariṭṭanēmipperiyār, pupil of Aṭṭōrpavāsigal[6], Anantavīra Aḍigaḷ[7], Guṇasēnapperiyaḍigal, the pupil of Vardamānavapaṇḍitar who was the pupil of Guṇasēnadēva presiding over Kuṟaṇḍittirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷi in Veṇbu Nāḍu[8] and Dēvambaladēva, pupil of Guṇasēnadēva who was in charge of a *paḷḷi*[9]. (Since Guṇasēnadēva is said to have been in charge of a local *paḷḷi* it probably indicates a *paḷḷi* at Kongar Puḷiyankuḷam itself). Pūvanandikkuratti,[10] Paṭṭinikurattiyār of Perumpattiyūr[11], Śiriviśaiyakkurattiyār[12] and Tiruccāraṇāttukkurattigaḷ[13] were some of the Jain women teachers.

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1. Jnanasambandar mentions a number of Jains of the *Nandi* and *Sena gana* in his *Tiruvalavay Padigam*.

2. M.E.R. 70 of 1905 (Anaimalai); 692 of 1905 (Aivarmalai); 729 of 1905 (Uttamapalayam); 54 of 1910 (Kongarpuliyangulam); 64 of 1910 (Pèccipallam). This record mentions Ajjanandi's mother Gunamatiyār; 562 of 1911 (Karunkalakkudi); 603 of 1915 (Eruvadi).

3. M.E.R. 694 of 1905 (Aivarmalai)

4. M.E.R. 697 of 1905 (Aivarmalai)

5. M.E.R. 700 of 1905 (Aivarmalai)

6. M.E.R. 725 of 1905 (Uttamapalayam)

7. M.E.R. 732 of 1905 (Uttamapalayam)

8. M.E.R. 330 of 1908 (Kongar Puliyangulam)

9. M.E.R. 331 and 332 of 1908 (Kongar Puliyangulam); 65 and 66 of 1910 (Kilakkudi or Peccipallam).

10. M.E.R. 701 of 1905 (Aivarmalai)

11. Ibid.

12. M.E.R. 33 of 1894.

13. M.E.R. 37 of 1894.

Kurandi[1] Tirukkāttampalli[2] in Venbunādu appears to have been one of the most important Jain religious houses of the time. Inscriptions mention a shrine of Tirukkuṇagiridēva[3]. Most of these Jaina inscriptions are small ones in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters often engraved in rock below Jaina figures cut in relief.

Sambandar is known to have vanquished the Jains in the Madurai country during the 7th c. A.D. Palaeographically the numerous Jain Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions in the Madurai locality are assigned to the 9th-10th centuries. Jain inscriptions occur again only after a long interval but even then not in the Madurai locality. Since all the Jains may not have left the Madurai region immediately after being vanquished by Sambandar one may safely assign these Jain inscriptions to a period contemporaneous with Sambandar or the period immediately following his time.

RISE OF MATHAS: During the period of the Fisrt Empire one notices the beginning of *maṭhas* which were destined to play a significant role in the cultural history of the mediaeval period. Several records mention a *maṭha* of Mahāvratins[4]. These records indicate that many unorthodox sects like the Kāḷāmukhas were widely prevalent during this period. A record of the Koḍumbāḷūr chieftain Vikrama Kēsari[5] states that he presented a big *maṭha* (*brihan-maṭham*) with eleven villages to Mallikārjuna of Madurai, who was the chief ascetic of the Kāḷamukha sect. Mallikārjuna belonged to the Ātrēya *Gotra* and was the disciple of two teachers named Vidyārasi and Tapōrasi. The Kanarese country was the stronghold of the Kāḷāmukha sect. The above records show that the sect had extended its influence into Madurai, Pudukkōṭṭai and Ramnad also.

1. M.E.R. 61 and 62 of 1910, 68 of 1910, 29 of 1894.

2. M.E.R. 330 of 1908 (Kongarpuliyankulam) ; 63 of 1910 (Kilakkudi)

3. M.E.R. 732 of 1905 (Uttamapalayam)

4. M.E.R. 70 of 1905.

5. M.E.R. 129 of 1907, M.E.R. 1908, Part II, paras 85-86, M.E.R. 1915, p. 101.

(iv) *Architecture: Cave and Structural Temples*

The period of the first Pāṇḍyan Empire was one of great significance in the architectural history of the Madurai country. The Pāṇḍya kings were patrons of art and architecture. Many rock-cut caves and monolithic shrines were excavated and structural stone temples built. Though similar stone structures were erected by the Pallavas about the same period it may be noted that the rock-cut caves and monoliths of the Pāṇḍya country lie outside the Pallava domain and form a separate group by themselves with special characteristics of their own. For instance, "some of the distinctive Pallava features, such as *kūḍus* on the projecting cornice, embellishments of facade, capitals, pillars etc., are absent in Pāṇḍya caves. The tendency to introduce portrait sculptures in caves is in evidence",[1] in the Pāṇḍya rock-cut caves. There is also a difference in the figures of *dvārapālakas*. In the Pāṇḍya caves while one *dvārapālaka* rests on a club as in the Pallava types, the other has no club and often has his hands folded across the chest. The earliest rock-cut cave temple so far known in the Pāṇḍya country is the one at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi which is about two miles from Kunnakkuḍi in the Ramnad district. An archaic Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription of about the 7th c. A.D.[2] on a pilaster in this cave indicates that the cave may be assigned to the 7th c. A.D. The inscription is a short label of two lines and mentions a certain Ikkāṭṭūrukkoṟṟūru Aññjan who was probably responsible for the excavation of the cave. The rock-cut cave temple has early sculptures carved on its walls.

The plan of the cave temple at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi is rather peculiar. While the main shrine containing the rock-cut *linga* faces the east, a wing is also cut out of the rock in front of this shrine so as to face the north. On the south wall of this wing or verandah is cut a figure of Gaṇēśa, locally known as Kaṟpaga Piḷḷaiyār.

The cave temples at Ānaimalai are about a century later than that at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi. Ānaimalai is about six miles north-east

1. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar: *Rock-cut Caves in the Pandya Country*, "Proceedings of the Indian History Congress", 1946, pp. 122-123.

2. M.E.R. 156 of 1936.

of Madurai. Two inscriptions[1] in the rock-cut Narasimha temple on this hill refer to the construction of this shrine by Mārangāri, the versatile minister of the Pāṇḍya king Mārañjaḍaiyan in 770 A.D. and the addition of a *mukha maṇḍapa* to the shrine by his brother Māran Eyinan. The cave temple with two pillars cut out of solid rock is a small shrine dedicated to Viṣṇu whose image it is said was consecrated in 770 A.D.[2] Since the date of construction of the shrine is known it is of importance in the study of cave temples.

A few yards away from the cave there is another rock-cut cave with a sanctum and an outer porch supported on two square pillars with chambered corners and lotus medallion ornaments. In the central shrine is a relief of Viṣṇu with his consort and within the porch are four figures, two of which probably represent devotees[3].

About the same time as the Ānaimalai shrine was consecrated there were building activities in Tirupparankuṉram about four miles south-west of Madurai. The rock-cut caves at Tirupparankuṉram hill form an important group in the Pāṇḍya country and unlike many other cave temples continue in worship even today. The main shrine is a large cave cut on the rock surface facing *north* but is now hidden behind mediaeval and modern structures in front of it. Longitudinally it runs east-west and consists of a large rectangular opening. On the rock surface facing the entrance are reliefs of Subrahmaṇya[4] and Gaṇēśa at the two ends with Durga[5] in the

1. M.E.R. 453 and 454 of 1906; E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 317 ff.

2. M.E.R. 454 of 1906.

3. H. Krishna Sastri (*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 218, n.1) states that there is also a rock-cut shrine of Subrahmanya at Anaimalai with only one goddess as at Tirupparankunram and that it is now called Sramanankoyil, which is evidently a corruption of Saravanan Koyil.

4. This Subrahmanya panel was mistaken by T.A. Gopinatha Rao for a Jyēṣṭa group. (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 392. *contra*, H. Krishna Sastri *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 218 n. 1). The Jyēṣṭa shrine as discussed below is at a lower level.

5. It is not clear whether the excavation of the shrine to Durgādēvi mentioned in M.E.R. 37 of 1908 refers to the central panel of Durga in the sanctum or whether it refers to a Durga shrine which might have been excavated somewhere else on the rock surface. Perhaps it is a reference to the group which is now known as Annapūrnā Dēvi and which is at a lower level than the sanctum.

centre. In a chamber cut into the eastern wall is an image of Viṣṇu and in a similar chamber cut on the western wall is a *linga* with a relief of Sōmaskanda on the face of the rock behind it. This group of five images forms the central shrine. Two *dvārapālakas* are on either side of the entrance. In front of the chambers to Śiva and Viṣṇu there are two *dvārapālakas* each. These latter *dvārapālakas* are heavily coated with cement (*śāndu*), perhaps to repair damaged parts. But the *dvārapālakas* of the front entrance are undamaged and resemble Pallava work.

A Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription[1] of the sixth year of Māṟanjaḍaiyan *alias* Parāntaka records that Śāttan Ganapati who was the king's *mahāsāmanta* and a member of the Vaidya family of Karavandapuram, carried out many repairs ("*tiruttuvittadu*") to the temple and tank at Tirupparankuṉṟam[2] and that his wife Nakkangoṟṟi excavated the shrines of Durgādēvi and Jyēṣṭā[3]. Nakkīrar and many other Sangam poets refer to Tirupparankuṉṟam as the hill sacred to Muruga. The *Paripāḍal* refers to the temple to Muruga, the painting in *maṇḍapas* near the temple, the springs on the hill and so on. Sambandar in his *Dēvāram* calls the hill Parankuṉṟu. Since Sāttan Gaṇapati seems to have carried out repairs only to the temple one may infer that the sanctum is probably earlier than the time of Māṟanjaḍaiyan (c. 765-815 A.D.)

Outside this shrine are other images carved on the rock surface on the east and west. Narasimha, Viṣṇu and Varāha are carved on the eastern face while on the western face a deity with a bull behind and Naṭarāja are carved. A third figure has been partly covered by a wall, and the reliefs are continued in a small chamber behind the wall.

There are a number of subsidiary caves distributed on different levels below this principal shrine. Though small and difficult of access, they are, however, interesting for their sculptures. Two caves are below the large *maṇḍapa* which adjoins the sanctum.

1. M.E.R. 37 of 1908; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 67-68.
2. "Sāttan Ganavadi tiruttuvittadu tirukkōyilum srītadāgamum."
3. "Nakkangorriyar ceyappattadu Durggādēvi kōyiluñjēstai kōyilum."

The cave on the west is stated to have an image of Gajalakṣmi. That on the east, access to which is through an entrance from the *mahā-maṇḍapa* level, contains a very interesting group of *gaṇas*, a four-headed God and a figure on a chariot with a peacock in front (fig. 1). The identity of this group is not known and this cave does not seem to have been noticed by scholars. The sculpturing is undoubtedly of an early period, perhaps of the 7th-8th centuries. The *gaṇas* have the ribbon-like sacred thread with a knot over the left shoulder, characteristic of early sculptures. The anatomical rendering also represents early work. The figure in the chariot has what looks like a mace resting on the chariot. The figure is standing with his right had lifted up and his left hand folded on his chest. The *gaṇas* and *bhūtas* are all suggestive of vigorous action as though attacking and driving or running away. Their gaze seems to be fixed on some particular object high above. The whole execution looks very dramatic in spite of the damage done to many of the figures. The four-headed figure which faces the entrance is seated and measures from waist to head about three feet in height. It is the largest among the carvings. It is four-handed. On its head is a cylindrical *krīṭa* as in early Pallava sculptures. The figure is much damaged and part of the head on the right side is lost. Besides, an opening has been made through the mouth to serve as a drain for water from the shrines in the tier above. This has completely damaged the front face. On the left one could see two faces in profile, though even here the outline is lost in parts. The front right arm is lifted. It is difficult to make out what it holds. The back right arm rests on the thigh. The front left arm is thrust behind some figure in the front. The back left arm hangs free and seems to be lifting something. The figure wears an *yajñōpavita* with three thick strands. Parts of a necklace also are visible. Bracelets and armlets are on the hands.

The scene probably represents Subrahmanya with his *gaṇas* fighting Śūrapadma. This group is particularly valuable to scholars. Though damaged, it is left in the state in which the stone carvers made it, while most of the other figures in the various shrines have been heavily restored with cement (*śāndu*). The figures which are free of cement, like the Jyēṣṭa group and the group referred to here prove the antiquity of the cave.

About the Durga shrine mentioned in the Vaṭṭeluttu inscription of Māṛañjaḍaiyan one does not know whether it refers to the figure of Durga in the central shrine or to the Dēvi group which is at a lower level (fig. 2). The latter group is a large one and is in a chamber to the west of what, for the present, may be called the Sūra Samhāra group. The group is carved in a recess measuring about eight feet long and about five feet high. Within this space 21 figures have been carved. The Dēvi is seated on a *padmāsana*. The back of the throne is ornamented with *makaras* and *simhas*. The Dēvi is four-armed, with a *jaṭā makuṭa*. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the back right hand holds the goad. The front left hand rests on the thigh and the back left hand holds the noose. The right leg is bent and rests on the seat while the left leg hangs in front of the seat. On either side of the Dēvi on the wall are reliefs of two *cauri* bearers and next to them are two heavenly figures, probably Sūrya and Candra. On the wall to the right of the Dēvi are three standing figures with *krīṭas* and hands in various poses. A similar group of three figures is on the wall on the left side. All these six perhaps represent divine figures. Immediately sitting on the ground next to the Dēvi, on the right and left, are two sages who are perhaps Vēdavyāsa and Parāśara as they resemble similar statues elsewhere in the temple. The front row includes four *ṛṣis*, two on either side. A figure seated on the ground on the right next to the *ṛṣi* appears to be playing on the flute while a similar figure on the left appears to have held a *vīṇa* in the hands. Two standing figures, one on either side in front of the recess, complete this group. The figure on the right holds a sword and shield in his hands while the figure on the left has a goat's head, has his right hand in the *vismaya* pose and the left hand resting on his thigh. These probably are *dvārapālakas*. The Dēvi is described as Annapūrṇa who sometimes has all the attributes as found in this sculpture. It may be also Bhuvanēśvari who has *kuṇḍalas*, *kankanas*, is seated on a *padmāsana* with *pāśa* and *ankuśa* in two of her hands, the two remaining hands being in the *abhaya-varada* pose. In Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*[1] there is an interesting illustration which almost resembles this group in the Tirupparankuṇṛam hill. The illustration shows Dēvi worshipped by Sūrya-Candra, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva on one side, and Indira, Agni

1. Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*, 1861 plate 31.

and others on the other side. *Ṛṣis* in *yōga* attitude are seated around the Dēvi.

Below the *mahā maṇḍapa* on the eastern side is a long, dark, narrow passage which leads to a chamber in the rock face wherein a group of three figures are carved. These represent Jyēṣṭā Dēvi[1] with her son and daughter (fig. 3). Jyēṣṭā is seated on a platform with her legs hanging down in front. Her hair which is tied up is surmounted by a *makuṭa*. She is two-handed and in her right hand she holds a *nīlōtpala* flower. Her left hand rests on the thigh of her daughter who is seated to her left. She wears an *yajñōpavīta*. The sculpture here does not show her with the ponderous belly as usually seen in her representations. Her bovine-faced son is seated to her right. He is also two-handed. His right hand holds a club. He has also the *yajñopavīta*. His right leg hangs in front of the seat while his left leg is bent and rests on the seat. The Dēvi's daughter holds a *nīlōtpala* in her right hand while the left hand hangs down and rests on the seat. The right leg is bent on the seat and the left leg hangs in front.

The sculpturing leaves no doubt that it is of the early period, perhaps of the 7th-8th centuries. The group is in a good state of preservation and therefore has not been covered by cement (*śāndu*).

Just below the floor level of the *mahā maṇḍapa* and almost in line with the entrance to the sanctum are two big reliefs of seated figures who are called Aṇḍarābharana and Ugramūrti. One of these carvings, that of Ugramūrti(?), is shown in figure 4. It has a chain ornament worn *yajñōpavīta*-wise and is decorated with necklaces, armlets and bracelets. The right hand is held in the *suci* pose while the left hand rests on the knee of the left leg. The treatment of eyes and nose reveals that these particular carvings may belong to a later period than the carvings in the cave chambers. These two figures are probably *dvārapālakas*.

The Umaiyāṇḍān cave at the foot of the southern side of the Tirupparankunṛam hill presents interesting problems. The cave

1. It is evidently this Jyesta group which is referred to in M.E.R. 37 of 1908 where Nakkangorri, the wife of Sattan Ganavadi, is said to have excavated a shrine to Jyesta.

proper is cut into the rock. The front pillars are of the cubical type with lotus medallions and early Pallava type corbels, all of which are much damaged (fig. 5). On the wall facing the front of the cave are three panels, two of which contain carvings in relief. The first panel on the left is empty. The centre panel has a carving of Naṭarāja and the third panel shows Subrahmaṇya with his two consorts. The Naṭarāja panel (fig. 6) which is somewhat heavily damaged shows the God from the waist up only. The legs have been destroyed, as also the two front hands. The flaming *tiruvāśi* is visible. Muyalagan and Nandi with the drum are not so damaged. Kāḷi is seen as a small figure above Nandi. The Dēvi who stands on the left of Naṭarāja is without head or hands. On the pilasters on either side of Naṭarāja are carvings of Gaṇēśa and Subrahmanya. Gaṇēśa is ten-handed and Subrahmanya is shown on the peacock. The Subrahmaṇya panel which is next to this shows him as a two-handed God with this two consorts, Vaḷḷi and Dēvayāni on either side (fig. 7).

In a niche on the wall on the left side is a figure of Ardhanāri with a bull behind (fig. 8). On top of the Ardhanāri is a piece of scroll ornament which may be taken to be a stylised form of a tree or clouds. It perhaps represents a banyan tree. The wall on the right side contains a long inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-1239 A.D.)

Outside the rock-cut cave, are figures carved in niches on either side on the rock surface. On the left side are the figures of Vighnēśvara and two *ṛṣis* who are perhaps Vēdavyāsa and Parāśara (fig. 9). On the right side in a niche is a solitary figure which could not be identified at present. There were probably other figures on either side of it, but all traces of these are now lost. The surviving relief perhaps represents some royal personage seated on a wide *pīṭha* with the right leg resting on a small pedestal (fig.10). The figure seems to have been well ornamented but no *makuṭa* or *krīṭa* is seen at present. The next panel has three figures carved in it which are in a better state of preservation (fig. 11). The first figure has a big *chignon* and is seen standing in a devotional attitude and perhaps represents a royal donor. The centre figure is perhaps Sambandar or Bālasubrahmaṇya or Skanda as a dancing child. The third figure is no doubt the Tamil saint Appar. The last niche has a figure of Bhairava with

a dog behind (fig. 12). The figure of Bhairava looks almost like a Jaina *tīrtankara*.

These images by their subject and style of carving probably belong to a later period than those in the Subrahmaṇya shrine on the north face of the rock. Also one cannot escape the feeling that the work has been done by a lesser hand. A certain amount of indecisiveness is noticeable, and if one examines the rock surface one could see many incised outlines of figures which were perhaps done as a preliminary to carving or as rough sketches. The Umaiyāṇḍān shrine is not in worship now.

Among other caves attributable to the Pāṇḍyas is the cave at Śittannavāśal. A damaged record engraved on the wall of the rock-cut Jaina temple, here, which is in Tamil verse[1], mentions the Pāṇḍya king Avanipaśēkaran *alias* Śrīvalluvan (Srimāṛa Śrīvallabha, 815-862 A.D.) and records that Madurai āśiriyan Iḷangautaman repaired the inner *maṇḍapa* and built another *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple, evidently referring to the rock-cut cave.

Kaḷugumalai, 12 miles from Śankaranayinārkōyil in Kōyilpaṭṭi taluk (Tinnevelly district), is interesting for its rock-cut temples and sculptures. The rock on which these are cut is nearly 300 feet high. Three of its sides are precipitous. The most famous of its rock-cuts is the temple known as Veṭṭuvān Kōvil. This temple which is about 30 feet high and 40 feet deep has been carved on a great ridge of the rock. The solid rock from which it has been cut is left standing surrounding the temple on three of its sides. The temple which is in two parts with a *garbhagriha* and a chamber in front is unfinished. There is no idol installed in it. The most interesting part is the *vimāna* which is carved beautifully with *karnakūdu*, *pañcaram* and *śālai* and resembles that of the Arjuna and Dharmarāja *rathas* in Mahābalipuram. The ornamentation and sculpturing of figures of the Kaḷugumalai temple are more advanced and better finished. As the sculptured figures are in Śaiva form there can be little doubt that the temple was intended to be for Brahmanical worship. The rock-cut temple is ascribed to the 9th century[2]. It is stated "to

1. M.E.R. 368 of 1904, 215 of 1941 ; M.E.R. 1930 pt. II, para 4.

2. V. Venkatasubbayyar, *Rock-cut Caves in the Pandya Country* "Proceedings of the Indian History Congress", 1946, p. 119.

furnish a link between the rock-cut caves and structural monuments in the Pāṇḍya country"[1].

Higher up on the face of the rock are numerous carvings in relief of Jaina *tīrtankaras*. Old Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions are found below these figures. On the other side of the rock at its foot is a Subrahmaṇya temple. The sanctum and the *maṇḍapa* in front of it are cut into the rock.

Several other rock-cut temples are found in the Pāṇḍya country. Most probably they were excavated between the 7th and 9th c. A.D.[2]

STRUCTURAL TEMPLES : A number of epigraphs mention the construction of a structural stone temple at Kiḻamāttūr, about eight miles to the north-west of Madurai, during the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya "who took the head of the Cōḻa"[3]. Vīra Pāṇḍya was the contemporary of the Cōḻa kings Sundara Cōḻa and Āditya II Karikāla and may be said to have reigned in about 946 A.D. All the three records are in Vaṭṭeḻuttu. One of the above records which is damaged and is in verse[4] states that the Śiva temple called Śrīkaṇṭhēśvaram at this place was built in stone by the chief Tennavan Tamiḻavēḷ. The record also refers to some one who had attained proficiency in the six *darśanas*, the three kinds of Tamil, Sanskrit works, works on polity, the *purāṇas* and the intricacies of Patañjali's *yōga* system.[5] The two other records dated in the 4th+5th year of the king and in the 5th+6th year are connected epigraphs and say that the temple was built for the god at Tirumāttūr

1. Ibid. p. 120.

2. List of rock-cut temples in the Pandya country:—

Madura District: Anaimalai, Tirupparankunram, Kunnattur, Arittapatti.

Ramnad District: Kunnakkudi, Tirukkalakkudi, Pillaiyarpatti, Mahipalannamalai, Tiruttangal, Piranmalai, Sevilipatti, Tirumalai.

Tirunelveli District: Tirumalaipuram, Malaiyadikkuricci, Virasikhamani, Vadikkottai, Kalugumalai.

Pudukkottai (former State): Devarmalai, Malayakkovil, Tirumayam, Sittannavasal.

3. M.E.R. 624-626 of 1926.

4. M.E.R. 626 of 1926.

5. M.E.R. 1927 pt. II, para 38.

and that certain arrangements were made for the conduct of worship in the temple. The three records were stated to have been found engraved on the base of the north, west and south walls of the central shrine when copied by the Epigraphy Department in 1926, but as the whole temple has been rebuilt recently many of these 10th century inscribed Vaṭṭeḻuttu slabs had been indiscriminately used up in the reconstruction. Only a few slabs could now be seen inside a recently constructed well as also on the wall and basement of one of the shrines (fig. 13). The only survival perhaps of the ancient structure are the few beautiful but weather-worn images of *dvārapālakas*, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Lingōdbhava, Bhairava Sūrya and other icons[1].

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1. These are dealt with in chapter X sections B & C.

CHAPTER V

MADURAI UNDER THE COLAS

Madurai country which had known no other sovereign except the Pāṇḍya kings, experienced, for the first time perhaps, a change when it came under the sway of the Cōḻas early in the 10th c.A.D.

Soon after his accession, the Cōḻa Parāntaka I (907-55 A.D.) had invaded the Pāṇḍya country as early as 910 A.D. and assumed the title, "Madiraikoṇḍa" (capturer of Madurai). But the subjugation of the Pāṇḍyas was a gradual and difficult process which involved much fighting and absorbed many years. Parāntaka's conquest of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was effected only by about 920 A.D.[1] Since then for nearly three centuries (from the early years of the 10th c. (920 A.D.) to the beginning of the 13th c.A.D.) Madurai was practically under the Cōḻa sway.

Towards the end of Parāntaka's reign there was trouble in the Cōḻa country due to the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣṇa III. The Pāṇḍyas took this opportunity to throw off the Cōḻa yoke and make a short recovery under Vīra Pāṇḍya "who took the head of the Cōḻa" (c. 946-66 A.D.). Gaṇḍarāditya (c. 949-50 to 957 A.D.) was probably the Cōḻa king defeated by Vīra Pāṇḍya who had also the surnames Cōḻāntaka[2] and Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa[3]. Mahinda IV, the ruler of Ceylon, was an ally of Vīra Pāṇḍya. Both Parāntaka Sundara Cōḻa (c. 956-73 A.D.) and his son Āditya II Karikāla (c. 956-69 A.D.) claim to have defeated this Pāṇḍya king. The Leyden grant says that Āditya, while yet a boy, "played with Vīra Pāṇḍya in the battle"[4]. Parāntaka Sundara Cōḻa had the titles "*Madhurāntaka*"[5] and "*Pāṇḍiyanaiccuram-irakkina*" ("who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest")[6] and was probably identical with Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari[7].

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1. M.E.R. 446 of 1917, dated in his 24th year, is the earliest inscription of Parantaka found in the Pandya country.

2. M.E.R. 65 of 1896, 423 of 1914.

3. M.E.R. 233 and 238 of 1933.

4. E.I., Vol. XXII, vv. 25, 28.

5. M.E.R. 139 of 1907.

6. M.E.R. 291 and 302 of 1908.

7. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Colas*, 2nd edition, p. 145.

Sundara Cōḻa defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya in the battle of Cēvūr[1]. After this defeat Vīra Pāṇḍya was probably forced to flee and seek refuge in the forest[2]. Since the title "*Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-irakkina*" is found in an epigraph of Sundara Cōḻa dated in his seventh year[3], it may be inferred that the battle of Cēvūr must have occurred sometime earlier. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[4] state that Āditya II killed Vīra Pāṇḍya. It is not clear whether this is a mere boast and whether Āditya who might have participated in the battle of Cēvūr inflicted another defeat on the Paṇḍya later on. Anyway, from the fact that the incidence of Cōḻa epigraphs in the Pāṇḍya country, again occurs only from the time of Rājarāja I, it may be seen that the Cōḻas were not able to make much headway in spite of the many defeats they claim to have inflicted on the Pāṇḍyas. In fact Rājarāja in his *Meykīrtis* claims to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas even when they were still powerful and illustrious.

Sundara Cōḻa's son Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.D.), the great imperialist, subdued the Pāṇḍyas and established Cōḻa power in the Madurai country. Early in his reign he undertook a southern expedition against the Pāṇḍyas and Kēraḷas who were probably allies. It might have taken him several years as well as several campaigns for the complete subjugation of the Pāṇḍyas. The earliest record of Rājarāja so far known in the Pāṇḍya country is dated in his eighth year.[5] The Tiruvālangaḍu plates which give a detailed account of the king's southern conquests[6], state that he captured Madurai and subjugated the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga whose identity, however, is not clear. In his *Meykīrtis* beginning "*Tirumagaḷpōla*," Rājarāja boasts, that he conquered the Pāṇḍyas and deprived them of their splendour when they were still illustrious and flourishing in all their glory. This indicates that the Pāṇḍyas were quite powerful at

1. The Karandai plates, vv. 24-25, referred to in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 154; The Leyden grant. E.I. Vol. XXII, vv. 25, 28.

2. The Karandai plates (vv. 24-25) state that Vira Pandya was defeated at Cevur and forced to climb the peaks of the Sahayadri for refuge.

3. M.E.R. 291 of 1908.

4. Verses 47 and 78.

5. The Darsanamkoppu record. T.A.S Vol. I, 238.

6. Verses 76-79.

the time of their defeat by the imperial Cōḻa. Numerous inscriptions of Rājarāja occur in the Pāṇḍya country ranging from the eighth to the twentieth years of his reign[1].

The Pāṇḍyas seem to have continued to rule in a rather subordinate position, though Rājarāja appears to have established with a firm hand Cōḻa suzerainty over the Pāṇḍya country. Under him the very name of the Pāṇḍya country came to be changed to "Rājarājamaṇḍalam" and "Rājarāja Pāṇḍināḍu"[2]. Even sub-divisions were called Rājarājavaḷanāḍu[3] and Pāṇḍyakulāśanivaḷanāḍu.[4] During his campaigns against Ceylon between the 17th and 20th years of his reign, Rājarāja appears to have used the Pāṇḍya country as a base of operations[5].

Rājēndra I (1012-1044 A.D.), the son and successor of Rājarāja I, inherited the Pāṇḍya kingdom as a part of the extensive empire built up by his father. In about the fifth year of his reign (1017-18 A.D.) Rājēndra led a successful expedition to Ceylon and brought back the crown and the garland of Indra and other jewels which the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha II had previously left behind in Ceylon. Ceylon became a Cōḻa province.

An inscription of Rājēndra's third year[6] records a gift by the queen of a Pāṇḍya king named Śrīvallavan. Though the identity of this Pāṇḍya is not clear, it shows that the Pāṇḍyas still continued in a subordinate position. But soon afterwards they seem to have proved refractory so that Rājēndra had to wage war against them and appoint a viceroy over the Madurai country, to keep the Pāṇḍyas under effective control. This expedition appears to have been undertaken in about the sixth or seventh year of Rājēndra. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[7], referring to Rājēndra's success, state that the defeated Pāṇḍya fled for refuge to the Malaya mountain and

1. M.E.R. 80 of 1910 from Alagarkoyil is dated in his 2(2)nd year.
2. M.E.R. 1917 pt. II, para 2.
3. M.E.R. 332 of 1923.
4. M.E.R. 455 of 1908 and 672 of 1909.
5. J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 523-24.
6. M.E.R. 46 of 1907.
7. Verses 89-97.

that Rājēndra appointed his own son, Śrī Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, for the protection of the Pāṇḍya country. The last statement is confirmed by an epigraph of the tenth year of Rājēndra[1] which states that the king established his own son in Madurai as his viceroy with the title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and that Rājēndra built a huge palace at Madurai. When the Kēraḷas were defeated soon afterwards, the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy appears to have been placed in charge of the Kēraḷa country also. The practice of Cōḷa viceroys ruling over Pāṇḍya country with the title *Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya* started from this time. These viceroys appear to have enjoyed almost regal status and maintained close contact with the imperial headquarters. But at the same time the Pāṇḍyas also seem to have continued to rule, though in a subordinate manner. Probably the simultaneous rule by several Pāṇḍyan kings and princes over various regions of the kingdom originated about this same period.

Of the available Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya epigraphs the largest number belong to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Cōḷa Pāṇḍya, the son of Rājēndra I[2]. He appears to have ruled as viceroy for about 23 years. An inscription of his 30th (?) year from Āttūr in Tinnevelly[3], mentions a regiment called "Sundara-Śōḷapāṇḍya-terindapaḷaiyavāḷ." Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Cōḷa Pāṇḍya probably continued as viceroy in the early years of Rājādhirāja I (1018-54 A.D.) who succeeded Rājēndra I. The system of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys started by Rājēndra I was continued by his sons Rājādhirāja (1018-1054 A.D.), Rājēndradēva II (1052-64 A.D.) and Vīrarājēndra (1063-69 A.D.)[4].

In the historical introductions of Rājēndradēva II's inscriptions (1052-1064 A.D.) he is stated to have conferred on his younger brother Mummaḍi Śōḷan the title *Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya*[5]. Vīrarājēndra (1063-1069 A.D.) is stated to have conferred on his son Gangaikonda Cōḷa the

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1. M.E.R. 363 of 1917; From M.E.R. 112 of 1905 it may be inferred that Sundara Cola-Pandya was appointed viceroy about the sixth or seventh year of Rajendra.

2. Rajendra had several sons. It is not clear which son was appointed as the Cola-Pandya viceroy.

3. M.E.R. 395 of 1930.

4. M.E.R. 99 of 1924, 333 of 1930.

5. M.E.R., 1917 pt. II, pp. 107-8; S.I.I. Vol. III, p. 62.

Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and the title *Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya*[1]. An inscription from Shērmādēvi[2] refers to a certain Jaṭāvarman Śōḻa-Pāṇḍya as the son of Vīrarājēndra Cōḻa and mentions his palace at Rājēndraśōḻapuram. He is evidently the prince Gangaikoṇḍa-Cōḻa mentioned above. Inscriptions of the period speak of several other Cōḻa-Pāṇḍyas such as Jaṭāvarman Vīra Sōḻa Pāṇḍya[3], Māravarman Vikrama Śōḻa Pāṇḍya[4], and Sundara-śōḻa Pāṇḍya who had palaces at Māḍakkuḷakkil Madurai and Rājēndraśōḻapuram and who refers evidently to the Cōḻa emperor as his uncle (*ammān*)[5]. The identity of these Cōḻa-Pāṇḍyas is not clear at present.

The Pāṇḍyas could not reconcile themselves to their political subordination by the Cōḻas. Whenever there was an opportunity they tried to rebel and overthrow the Cōḻa yoke. The Kēralas and the kings of Ceylon often came to their aid in their struggle against the Cōḻas. Even in the later years of the reign of Rājēndra I there was a joint rebellion by the Pāṇḍyas, Cēras and Singhalese against the Cōḻas. Rājēndra's son and heir-apparent Rājādhirāja undertook an extensive southern campaign to suppress this. His inscriptions speak of his success and the defeat of the three allied kings of the south (*Tennavar*), viz., Mānābharaṇa, Vīrakēraḷa and Sundara Pāṇḍya[6]. Though *Tennavar* generally means the Pāṇḍyas, it perhaps refers in this particular context to the three allied kings of the south, viz., the Pāṇḍya, the Kēraḷa and the Sighalese kings[7]. Sundara Pāṇḍya appears to be the Pāṇḍya ruler and possibly the leader of the coalition. Mānābharaṇa was perhaps the king of Ceylon[8]. In a Ceylon expedition undertaken after the death of Rājēndra, Rājādhirāja is said to have dethroned four Ceylonese rulers, one of whom was Vikrama Pāṇḍya. The Cōḻa epigraphs state that Vikrama had taken refuge in Ceylon after "having lost the whole of the

1. S.I.I. Vol. III, No. 20 ; E.I. Vol. XI, p. 293.
2. M.E.R. 642 of 1916
3. M.E.R. 99 of 1924.
4. M.E.R. 393 of 1930.
5. M.E.R. 327, 332 & 619 of 1916.
6. S.I.I. Vol. III, No. 28, p. 56.
7. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 243, n. 141.
8. *Vide* S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 29, line 13.

southern Tamil country"[1]. The *Mahāvaṃśa*[2] on the other hand states that Vikrama Pāṇḍya was a Ceylonese prince who had taken refuge in the Duḷu country for some time. Since the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese had close political and dynastic connections at his time it is difficult to decide at present whether Vikrama Pāṇḍya was a Pāṇḍya or Ceylonese prince.

An epigraph of the fourth year of Vīra Rājēndra (1063-69 A.D.) mentions the defeat of a Vīrakēsari, son of the Pāṇḍya, Śrīvallabha[3]. The identity of these Pāṇḍyas is also not known.

During the period of confusion in the Cōḻa country after the death of Vīrarājēndra, the Pāṇḍyas once again tried to regain independence and Kulōttunga I (1070-1120 A.D.) had to subdue them again. After many prolonged and sustained campaigns in the Pāṇḍya country Kulōttunga I was able to reassert Cōḻa suzerainty over the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The campaigns against the Pāṇḍyas were undertaken between the seventh and eleventh years of his reign. A record of the fifth year of Kulōttunga[4] contains a vague reference to a Pāṇḍya king beheaded by him. Kulōttunga is said to have defeated the five Pāṇḍyas[5] whose names are not given. Their identity remains obscure. It is said that Kulōttunga fixed the boundaries of the southern (Pāṇḍya) country[6]. The *Kulōttungaśōḻan Piḷḷaittamiḻ* mentions also a battle of Semponmāri (Ramnad district)[7].

The Cōḻas found it increasingly difficult to maintain their sway over the Pāṇḍyas. The system of Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya viceroys had apparently been given up and Kulōttunga, finding it impossible to continue with the old administrative arrangements, established military outposts (*nilaippaḍai*) at strategic points in the Pāṇḍya country. The numerous inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings since the time of Kulōttunga I

1. S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 56.
2. Geiger *Cūlavaṃśa*, vv. 11-14.
3. S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 20.
4. S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 68.
5. An undated Sanskrit inscription from Cidambaram (E.I., Vol. V, pp. 103-4, S.I.I., Vol. I, pp. 168-9), S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 147; *Kalingat upparaṇi* XI, vv. 70-72.
6. S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 147.
7. Verse 10.

show very few signs of their political subjection to the Cōḻas, and the provenance of Cōḻa epigraphs in the Pāṇḍya country also begins to diminish considerably. Hardly any Cōḻa inscription is found in the Pāṇḍya country after the reign of Kulōttunga I.

The Pāṇḍya epigraphs of the period give the names of a number of Pāṇḍya kings ruling over Madurai during the period when Cōḻa sway over Madurai was weakening, and the Pāṇḍyas were beginning to reassert themselves once again. A Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha seems to have reigned for about 23 years with real power. He appears to have begun his rule sometime after Kulōttunga's invasion and subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country. The historical introductions of his inscriptions begin with the words "*Tirumaḍandaiyum Jayamaḍandaiyum.*" In his epigraphs there are references to the thrones *Pāṇḍyarājan* and *Kalingatarāiyan* in the halls of the palace at Madurai to the east of Māḍakkuḷam[1], to a royal prince Piḷḷaiyār Sundara Pāṇḍya[2], to royal officers[3], coins such as *drammas*[4], irrigation works and improvements[5] and to grain measures[6].

Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha appears to have been succeeded by Māṟavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya whose eulogies begin with "*Tirumagaḷ puṇara.*" The next Pāṇḍya king seems to have been a Jaṭāvarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya who is known so far by only one epigraph from Kanyākumari, beginning with the words "*Tiruvaḷaracceyamvaḷara*", dated in the ninth regnal year[7]. It states that he defeated the Cēras, took Kulam of Telinga Bhīma and South Kalinga. Probably these conquests were effected by this Pāṇḍya as a subordinate of Vikrama Cōḻa. Then there is mention of a Māṟavarman Śrīvallabha with a eulogy commencing "*Pūmagaḷ Jayamagaḷ*". Vīra Ravivarman of Travancore was his tributary. Śrīvallabha's epigraphs

1. M.E.R. 322, 324, 326 of 1908, 393 of 1917, 555 of 1922, 619 of 1926, 266 of 1928, 6 of 1929, I.P.S. 243.
2. M.E.R. 493 of 1909, 277 of 1928, 371 of 1930.
3. Kalingattaraiyan (M.E.R. 6 of 1894), Kalingarayan (M.E.R. 318 of 1908), Mahabharanamangalattu Ayyan (M.E.R. 6 of 1929).
4. M.E.R. 323 of 1908, 39 of 1929.
5. M.E.R. 324 of 1908, M.E.R. 1909, pt. II, para 23.
6. M.E.R. 1909, pt. II, para 23.
7. T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 18 ff.

mention a Pillaiyār Kulaśēkhara who is most probably identical with Kulaśēkhara who figures in a civil war in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the second half of the twelfth century.

The story of the Pāṇḍyan succession war has to be pieced together from the account of the *Mahāvamsa*[1] and from several Cōḷa epigraphs[2]. Towards the close of the reign of the Cōḷa Rājarāja II (1146-73 A.D.) a fierce succession dispute broke out between Parākrama Pāṇḍya of Madurai and Kulaśēkhara. Besieged by Kulaśēkhara, Parākrama appealed for help to the Ceylonese ruler Parākramabābu (1153-86 A.D.) But before the Ceylon army could come to his aid, Kulaśēkhara had taken Madurai and killed Parākrama and his wife and children. The king of Ceylon ordered his general Lankāpura Daṇḍanātha to continue the war against Kulaśēkhara, and bestow the Pāṇḍya crown on a prince of the family of Parākrama. Accordingly Lankāpura carried on the war on behalf of Parākrama's son Vīra Pāṇḍya, who had fled to the Malaya mountains. Obviously the Singhalese general found the task to be more difficult than he had anticipated and had to send for reinforcements to Ceylon and placate the local Tamil chiefs with presents and honours.

He had to wage many fierce contests against Kulaśēkhara, in the Madurai, Ramnad, Pudukkōṭṭai and also the Tinnevelly districts. Kulaśēkhara's cause was supported by his uncle in Kongu,[3] as well as by the Cōḷa king. The *Mahāvamśa*[4] says that Kulaśēkhara and the Cōḷa army under Pallavarāyar were defeated at Kilenilaya[5] and that after another defeat inflicted on Kulaśēkhara at Pon Amarāvati,

1. Geiger, *Culavamsa*, chapters 76 and 77.

2. M.E.R. 1, 20 of 1899, 465 of 1905, 433 of 1924, 261 of 1925.

3. M.E.R. 336 of 1928 from Nerur is a record of the Kongu chief Kulottunga Cola. It states that the king made to his *purohita* a *yatra dana* before he started on an expedition to Madurai to recorver the kingdom for his nephew (*marumaganar*) ....karadeva. This evidently refers to Kulasekharadeva who fought against Parakrama in the Pandyan succession war. The *Mahavamsa* also states that Kulasekhara received reinforcements from the Kongu country which belonged to his maternal uncles; M.E.R. 1899, pt. II, para 24, S.I.T.I. II, No. 716.

4. Geiger, *Culavamsa*, chap. 77, v. 85.

5. Modern Kilnilai in Tiruppattur taluk of the Ramnad district.

Lankāpura handed over the government of the Pāṇḍya kingdom to Vīra Pāṇḍya who had already been crowned king. The *kahāpana*, the coin of Parākramabāhu, was introduced and Lankāpura sent to Ceylon a vast booty. This account of the *Mahāvamśa* is rather one-sided and incomplete. While Lankāpura might have scored initial successes, not without difficulty, his final reverses are not mentioned.

Kulaśēkhara appealed to the Cōḷa king for help in regaining his throne. An inscription from Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai[1] states that the Cōḷa general defeated the Singhalese, reconquered the Pāṇḍya kingdom and carried out the Cōḷa king's orders to the letter by nailing the heads of Lankāpura Daṇḍanāyaka and others to the gates of Madurai. These facts are not mentioned in the *Mahāvamśa*. Kulaśēkhara then re-entered Madurai.

The Cōḷas then supported the cause of one, Śrīvallabha, a nephew of Parākramabāhu, as a rival claimant to the Ceylon throne, and invaded Ceylon. Finding that his support of Vikrama Pāṇḍya's cause had proved too costly and detrimental, Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, changed sides and allied with Kulaśēkhara, whom he recognised as the king of Madurai. This treacherous move of Kulaśēkhara who sided with the Ceylonese enemy against whom the Cōḷa was fighting, forced the Cōḷa king to change his policy.

A record of the 12th year of Rājādhirāja[2] gives an account of the events which followed. It states that Kulaśēkhara, in alliance with the Ceylonese, drove the Ēḻagattār and the Maṟava *sāmantas*[3] (who were in the service of the Cōḷa king) to the north of the river Veḷḷāṟu. He also removed the beheaded heads of the Ceylon generals which were nailed to the gates of Madurai. Under the Cōḷa king's orders, his general, Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan, turned out Kulaśēkhara and installed Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, as the ruler of Madurai.

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1. M.E.R. 433 of 1924 dated in the eighth year of Rajadhiraja.
2. M.E.R. 465 of 1905.
3. This is obviously a reference to some sections of the troops.

The whole course of the civil war up to the installation of Vīra Pāṇḍya may be placed roughly between 1169 A.D. and 1177 A.D.[1]

Soon after the accession of Kulōttuṅga III in 1178 A.D. the civil war was renewed. Vīra Pāṇḍya who had been reinstated with Cōḷa help, soon changed sides and joined with Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, and with the ruler of Vēṇāḍ also perhaps. Vikrama Pāṇḍya, a relative of Kulaśēkhara who had probably died in the interval, sought the help of Kulōttunga III against Vīra Pāṇḍya. The Cōḷas invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom, defeated the Pāṇḍya and Singhalese troops, drove Vīra Pāṇḍya into exile and handed over Madurai and the throne to Vikrama Pāṇḍya[2]. These events probably happened by about 1182 A.D.

A few years later, in about 1189 A.D., Kulōttunga III had to wage a second war against the Pāṇḍyas[3]. The exiled Vīra Pāṇḍya, with the help of his allies, made another attempt to regain the throne. The Cōḷas defeated him at Neṭṭūr in about 1189 A.D. Vīra Pāṇḍya fled to Ceylon and thence to Travancore. Soon both the Vēṇāḍ king and Vīra Pāṇḍya submitted to Kulōttunga. Vīra Pāṇḍya's life was spared and he appears to have been rewarded with some land, jewels and other gifts[4].

A third successful campaign into the Pāṇḍya territory was undertaken by Kulōttunga in about his 29th regnal year, when Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (1190-1223 A.D.) was ruling in Madurai. But it was soon followed by a signal defeat at the hands of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I from which time onwards the Pāṇḍya supremacy was re-established.

The Cōḷa sway over the Pāṇḍya country, though it lasted for nearly three centuries, seems to have been mainly concerned with keeping under control the Pāṇḍyas who frequently rebelled and

1. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

2. M.E.R. 1 of 1899, 458, 547 of 1902.

3. M.E.R. 458 of 1902 dated in the eleventh year and 66 of 1892 dated in the 19th year of Kulottunga furnish details about this campaign.

4. "*Padi valangi mudi valangi.*" *Vide* S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 88, 1.5.

schemed to overthrow the Cōḷa suzerainty. Under these circumstances the Cōḷas could not make any noteworthy contribution to the material progress of the country. The Pāṇḍyas too who could not reconcile themselves to a subordinate position were more concerned with searching for opportunities to put an end to Cōla domination. Thus there was really no union of the two kingdoms and for nearly three centuries the progress of the country was in a state of suspended animation while the rival rulers were carrying on a struggle for mastery.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND PANDYAN EMPIRE

A. POLITICAL HISTORY

The end of Cōḷa suzerainty marked also the end of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. The Pāṇḍyas began to recover rapidly and a series of powerful rulers began to rule over Madurai and what may be termed the Second Pāṇḍyan Empire (roughly 12th to 14th c. A.D.). During this period the Pāṇḍyan kingdom reached its widest extent.

One of the earliest rulers of this period was Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (1190-1223 A.D.), probably the son and successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya who was supported by Kulōttunga III during the Pāṇḍyan Civil War. Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions are found in the Madurai, Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts[1]. His eulogies usually begin "*Pūvin kiḻatti*". In his palace at Māḍakkuḷakkīl Madurai there were thrones called *Maḻavarāyan* and *Kāḷingarāyan*[2]. The king's brother-in-law was Kōdai Ravivarman. The Tiruppūvaṇam plates creating Rājagambhīra Caturvēdimangalam village were issued during the 25th regnal year of Kulaśēkhara. Towards the latter part of his reign[3] Kulaśēkhara appears to have been defeated by Kulōttunga III who then performed *vīrābhiṣēka* in Madurai city[4]. This campaign might be assigned to about the year 1205 A.D.

Kulōttunga by his repeated expeditions had kept the Pāṇḍyas in subservience. He carried on his campaigns in a ruthless and uncompromising manner destroying almost every vestige of Pāṇḍya

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1. M.E.R. 607, 613 of 1926, 80 of 1929, 275, 279 of 1930 and 243 of 1942 from Madurai; 543 of 1922, 33 of 1924 and 236 of 1941 from Ramnad and 502, 540, 550 of 1916, and 431, 435 of 1930 from Tinnevelly districts.

2. M.E.R. 14 of 1894; 540 550 of 1916; 543 of 1922; 236 of 1941.

3. M.E.R. 360 of 1904; 339 of 1914; 233 of 1917; I.P.S. 158, 163, 164, 166, 169, 173.

4. I.P.S. 163, a record of the 31st regnal year of Kulottunga III, and I.P.S. 166 of the 34th year mention in detail the king's activities in the city of Madurai. Records of his 35th year (M.E.R. 339 of 1914, I.P.S. 169) and 40th year (M.E.R. 273 of 1914, I.P.S. 176) state that he performed *virabhiṣeka* and *vijayabhiṣeka* in Madurai.

suzerainty, razing their very palaces to the ground and renaming their country and capital after Cōḻa epithets. But within ten years of Kulōttunga's boasted campaigns the tables were completely turned on him by Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-39 A.D.) who had succeeded Kulaśēkhara and who carried his arms into the Cōḻa country upto Cidambaram in the north. All that Kulōttunga did to Madurai and the Madurai country were re-enacted by Sundara Pāṇḍya against the Cōlas and as early as the third year of his reign he defeated Kulōttunga III. The Cōḻa king was forced to pay homage to the Pāṇḍya victor. The crown and the country were restored to the Cōḻa Kulōttunga on his acknowledging the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍya ruler[1]. Sundara's long and ornate *praśasti* "*Pūmaruviya tirumadandaiyum*" gives many interesting details about his Cōḻa conquest. A record of his seventh year mentions his victory over the Cōḻas, the burning of Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr, Sundara's *vīrābiṣēka* in the coronation hall of the Cōḻas at Āyirattali, and the restoration of the Cōḻa kingdom to Kulōttunga III[2]. A part of the Cōḻa kingdom was given to a Bāṇa chieftain[3] perhaps as a reward for the help he rendered during the campaigns. Sundara Pāṇḍya assumed many titles after his conquest of the Cōḻas. Some of them were "*Sōṇāḍu valangi aruliya*", "*Sōṇāḍu koṇḍaruḷiya*" and "*Sōṇāḍu koṇḍu muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapurattu vīrar abhiṣēkam paṇṇiyaruḷiya*" and "*Muḍivaḻangum perumāl*"[4]. Kulōttunga's successor Rājarāja III attempted to throw off the Pāṇḍyan allegiance and regain independence. Sundara Pāṇḍya then defeated the Cōḻa king and took him captive and victoriously entered the Cōḻa capital Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapuram where

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1. M.E.R. 322 of 1928 of the 3rd year gives him the title "*Sonadu valangi aruliya*". M.E.R. 47 of 1938 states that this record was engraved in the 3rd year of the Pandya king who was crowned at Ayirattali.

2. M.E.R. 49 of 1890; M.E.R. 9 of 1926 of the 15th year also mentions Sundara's *virabhiseka* and *vijayakhiseka* at the Cola capital at Palaiyaru and the restoration of the crown and the capital city to Kulottunga III.

3. M.E.R. 481 and 482 of 1908, 196 of 1939. A branch of the Banadarayas of Magadaimandalam had migrated south and settled in the Pandya country. The Bana chieftain who helped Sundara Pandya was probably a member of this branch.

4. M.E.R. 77 of 1916 of the 7th year of Sundara mentions a "*Mudivalangum perumal*" *sandhi*. Evidently Sundara Pandya took the title "*Mudivalangumperumal*" to commemorate the restitution of the crown to the Cola king.

he performed a *vijayābhiṣēka*[1]. From the account given in a Tiruvèndipuram inscription dated 1231-32 A.D.[2] and the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* of Kālakalabha[3] it may be inferred that these events probably took place in about 1230-31 A.D.[4] Rājarāja III fled from the capital and was for some time held prisoner in Śēndamangalam by the Kāḍava chieftain, Kōpperuñjinga. The intervention of the Hoysala Narasimha II resulted in the release and restoration of the Cōḷa king[5]. One of Narasimha's titles was "the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom."[6]

From now onwards Hoysala interference and influence in the affairs of the South Indian kingdoms gradually increases. With a view to increasing their own political influence they seem to have played the strategic game of throwing in their lot with a weaker power as against a stronger one. When warring against the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysalas appear to have come to the aid of the Cōḷa often. The *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* states that Narasimha levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya. There appears to have been a decisive battle between the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas at Mahēndramangalam on the Kāvēri in about 1232 A.D. Here Sundara Pāṇḍya was defeated[7]. This was probably the reason why Sundara Pāṇḍya was not able to annex the Cōḷa kingdom. When peace was finally made between the Pāṇḍyas, the Cōḷas and the Hoysalas it was sealed by many dynastic marriages. Narasimha's son Vīra Somēśvara is referred to

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1. M.E.R. 140 of 1894 of the 20th regnal year.

2. M.E.R. 142 of 1902.

3. Estract by M.R. Kavi in *Triumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, vi, pp. 677-78.

4. M.E.R. 419 of 1914 dated S. 1152 from Tiruceuli mentions the defeat of Jananatha (who refused to make obeisance) by Sunda....The record probably relates to Sundara's campaign against the rebel Cola. The term Jananatha might stand for Rajaraja III.

5. M.E.R. 142 of 1902.

6. E.C. Vol. IV. Nl. 29.

7. *Gadyakarnamrta*, M.E.R. 14 of 1938 from *Tiruvanaik-kovil* mentions Bhogaya and Mallaya, two of Narasimha's *dandanayakas* who were sent against the Pandya and who made a gift to Brahmans at Rameswaram in 1237 A.D. A record dated 1237 A.D. (E.C. Krishnarajapet, 63) states that Somesvara was in the Pandimandalam.

as *māmaḍi* or uncle by the successors of both Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III[1].

The records of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I mention thrones named *Maḻavarāyan* in palaces at Madurai[2] and Pon Amarāvati[3], the king's officers such as Solan Uyyaninṟāḍuvān *alias* Gurukulattaraiyan[4] and the court poet Kāraṇai Viḻupparaiyar[5]. The coin *Sōṇaḍukoṇḍān* was perhaps issued by Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Sundara Pāṇḍya was succeeded by Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II (acc. 1238 A.D.) who had a short reign, and then by Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238-53 A.D.) whose eulogies begin with *pūmalar tiruvum*. In his reign the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysalas were on very friendly terms and Hoysala influence in Pāṇḍya affairs became a dominating factor. Sundara Pāṇḍya II refers to the Hoysala Vīra Sōmēśvara as his uncle[6] (*māmaḍi*) and to the Kongu Cōḷa king Vikrama Cōḷa as his brother-in-law[7]. When Rājēndra Cōḷa III invaded the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, Sōmēśvara intervened and defeated the Cōḷa. Sōmēśvara also took such titles as *pāṇḍya kulasamrakṣaka* and "who won Rājēndra in battle"[8]. There were many Hoysala officers in the Pāṇḍya country now[9]. One of them conquered the Kāṇanāḍu[10], and there is mention of another settling a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute in Pudukkōṭṭai[11].

Sundara Pāṇḍya II's records mention many gifts to temples and for promotion of Vēdic studies. There were thrones called *Maḻa-*

1. Both Maravarman Sundara Pandya II and Jatavarman Vikrama Pandya call Somesvara their *mamadi* (uncle).

2. M.E.R. 546 of 1922, 148 of 1908 and 77 of 1916.

3. M.E.R. 77 of 1916.

4. M.E.R. 62 of 1905, 549, 554 of 1922.

5. M.E.R. 75 of 1924.

6. M.E.R. 156 of 1894, 291 of 1930.

7. M.E.R. 132 of 1894.

8. E.C., Vol. V, No. 123.

9. M.E.R. 138 of 1894, 15 of 1912.

10. M.E.R. 387 of 1906.

11. M.E.R. 387, 392 of 1906; I.P.S. 340, 341.

varāyan, *Pallavarāyan* and *Tamiḻappallavarāyan*[1] in his palace at Madurai.

The next ruler was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1251-71 A.D.), the greatest of the mediaeval Pāṇḍyas. Under him the Pāṇḍyan empire reached its widest extent and the height of its splendour. He rapidly extended the Pāṇḍyan sway up to Nellore and Cuddapah in the north and to Ceylon in the south.

Sundara Pāṇḍya defeated the Cōḻas, Kēraḷas and Hoysalas, and took Kongu and Ceylon. The Hoysalas were confined to the Mysore plateau. One record says that he made his younger brother Vīra Pāṇḍya the viceroy of Konkaṇa Rājya[2]. Sundara also defeated the Pallavas, Gaṇḍagōpāla, the Bāṇas, the Kāḍava, Kōpperuñjiṅga and the Kākatīya Gaṇapati. Under him Kāñci became almost a secondary Pāṇḍya capital. Both in his wars and in administrative work Sundara Pāṇḍya was helped by other princes of the royal family such as Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (acc. 1253 A.D.) who undertook an expedition to Ceylon between 1262 and 1264 A.D.[3] Sundara assumed many titles such as "*Emmaṇḍalamum koṇḍaruḷiya*" and "*Ellāntalaiyānān*" and performed *vīrābhiṣēkas* and *vijayābhiṣēkas* and *tulābhāras* at many places like Cidambaram, Śrīraṅgam, Kāñci and Nellore. His eulogies begin with *Samasta Jagadādhāra*[4] in Sanskrit and *pūmalar vaḷar*[5] in Tamil. Long Sanskrit epigraphs of his occur in many of the important South Indian temples such as those at Śrīrangam, Tinnevelly, Cidambaram, Kāñci and others. In these the king's prodigious activities, his military prowess, and his liberal grants to temples and *maṭhas* are recorded. He gilded halls and walls in the Cidambaram and Śrīrangam temples, made liberal gifts to these and other temples[6], built the *Kōyil Ponmēyndaperumāḷ maṇḍapa* in Aḻagarkōyil temple, instituted many special festivals in his name and issued coins with the legend "*Ellāntalaiyānān*", probably he built or completed the eastern *Gōpura* of the Madurai temple.

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1. M.E.R. 132 of 1894, 524 of 1922, 283, 297 of 1930.
2. M.E.R. 81 of 1939.
3. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Ceylon Expedition of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya* (Proceedings of the Eighth All India Oriental Conference, pp. 508-26).
4. M.E.R. 24 of 1891, 89 of 1939.
5. M.E.R. 166 of 1894.
6. M.E.R. 45 of 1891.

Many *maṭhas* were built during his reign. He also carried out reform in the administration of the Śrīrangam temple[1].

Three years before his death he made Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhaṟa the heir-apparent. Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I (1268 to 1310 A.D.) had a long reign of about 42 years. He had the title "Tiger of the Cōḷas" and his eulogy begins with *tērpōl*. Kulaśēkhara was also a powerful ruler and the extent of the kingdom was maintained fairly intact, but the later years of his reign were a period of trouble. There were many foreign visitors to the kingdom in his reign and their writings form a useful source for the history of this period. The Venetian Marco Polo and the Muslim Wassaf visited the Pāṇḍyan country. They state that five brothers[2] were ruling the kingdom of Mabar or the Pāṇḍyan country. Epigraphs also speak of several Pāṇḍyas ruling probably as sub-kings or co-regents along with Kulaśēkhara. Some of them were Jaṭāvaraman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1276 A.D.), Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (acc. 1283 A.D.) and Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (acc. 1253 A.D.). There are references to several conquests by Kulaśēkhara including that of Ceylon.

Early in his reign Kulaśēkhara led a successful expedition against the Travancore country. This was evidently the reason for his assumption of the titles "*Sēranaivenra*"[3] and "*Kollam-koṇḍa*". Kulaśēkhara defeated both the Hoysala Rāmanātha and his ally Rājēndra Cōḷa III in about 1279 A.D.[4] An epigraph of the 11th year[5] states that Kulaśēkhara conquered Malaiṇāḍu, Sōṇāḍu, the two Kongus, Īḷam (Ceylon) and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Taking advantage of a famine at the end of the reign of Ceylonese king Bhuvanaikabāhu I, Kulaśēkhara sent his minister Āryacakravarti to Ceylon. The island was conquered and the Tooth Relic of Buddha was carried

1. M.E.R. 84, 89 of 1939.

2. Wassaf says that this happened at the close of 709 H., *i.e.*, about May-June, 1310 A.D. Elliot and Dowson: *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, pp. 49-50.

3. M.E.R. 126 of 1907.

4. M.E.R. 24 of 1927 says that Kulasekhara built a *prākāra* wall of the Tinnevelly temple with the booty he had collected after defeating the Kerala, Cola and the Hoysala kings.

5. M.E.R. 698 of 1916.

away to the Pāṇḍya country[1]. For about twenty years Ceylon remained a part of the Pāṇḍya empire. The next ruler of Ceylon Parākramabāhu III had to employ much persuasion and go on a personal mission to the court of Kulaśēkhara to recover the Tooth Relic. It was only during the civil war after Kulaśēkhara's death that Ceylon regained her independence.

Kulaśēkhara also appears to have maintained diplomatic relations with China[2]. In the later years of his reign troubles started probably due to a weakening of central control over the various co-rulers.

The last years of Kulaśēkhara's reign were clouded by the jealousies and quarrels of his two sons, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya. Vīra Pāṇḍya was made heir-apparent by Kulaśēkhara though he was only an illegitimate son. Sundara Pāṇḍya became jealous, and murdered his father Kulaśēkhara and tried to seize the throne. Then followed a struggle between the two sons. In 1310 A.D. Vīra Pāṇḍya defeated Sundara who fled to the north to get Muslim aid against his brother. With the assassination of Kulaśēkhara the Pāṇḍyas began to decline in power rapidly.

Thus ended a glorious chapter in Pāṇḍyan history when Pāṇḍyan imperialism had extended its control over many dynasties such as the Cōḷa, the Kēralas, the Kongus, the Hoysalas, the Kākatīyas and others, and even over the island of Ceylon.

B. ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE

The system of administration during the period of the Second Pāṇḍyan Empire seems to have been more or less the same as that followed during the centuries immediately preceding it. The king was helped by royal princes[3] and by ministers[4] in the work of

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1. Kulasekhara's conquest of Ceylon is confirmed by the account of the *Mahāvamśa* (*Mahavamśa*, xc; Turnour and Wijesinha *tr.*), pt. ii, pp. 314-15.

2. Yule and Cordiery, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 331, 337, 371.

3. M.E.R. 235 of 1914, a record of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I says the *Pillaiyār* (son?) Alagapperumal determined the landed interest of the country amicably; 309 of 1928; I.P.S. 327.

4. M.E.R. 9 of 1932, 265 and 280 of 1942 mention *Kulasekhara Uttaramantri alias* Kulasekharadevan, the Araiyan of Perumaṇalūr in Aṇḍanāḍu.

administration. Even thrones in the Pāṇḍyan palaces are often referred to by the same name as that of the royal officer at the time.[1] The administrative machinery was an elaborate bureaucracy.

The village continued to be the unit of local administration, and land tax was the chief source of revenue. Registers showing rights over land were maintained[2] carefully at the capital and detailed records of transactions involving land rights were maintained. Stone inscriptions were probably copies of the original documents written on *ōlais*[3].

The king usually transacted business by means of oral orders (*kēḷvi*). A regular and elaborate procedure seems to have been developed for securing and putting into execution the king's order. The so-called Triple Documents consisting of the *kēḷvi*, *ōlai* and *uḷvari* are one of the most distinguishing features of mediaeval Pāṇḍyan administration[4]. Usually a high official first made a request to the king about a particular transaction and got his oral sanction or order (*kēḷvi*). The king's sanction was accompanied by an order that the necessary entries should be made in the revenue registers and that the revenue department should issue the *ōlai* and *uḷvari* regarding the transaction. The *ōlai* was an executive order to the officers to give effect to the king's order. The revenue department then issued the document called *uḷvari* and entered the transaction in the revenue register. The *uḷvari* was often signed by a number of revenue officers (*variyilār*). The *ōlai* and the *uḷvari* generally did not contain the king's proper name but began with the title "*Tribhuvanacakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān*".

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1. M.E.R. 13 and 149 of 1894, 82 of 1905 and 279 of 1930 mention the throne called *Malavarāyan* and the minister Malavarāyan ; M.E.R. 540 of 1916 and 243 of 1942 refer to the throne and minister designated *Kāliṅgarāyan*.

2. M.E.R. 483 of 1916.

3. M.E.R. 502 of 1916, 541 of 1926, M.E.R. 1912, Pt. II, para 37 ; M.E.R. 1917, pt. II, para 8; M.E.R. 1923, pt. II, para 56.

The word *tuḷyam* at the beginning or the end of many mediaeval Pandya epigraphs (M.E.R. 4 of 1915, 270 of 1942) also shows that stone inscriptions were copies of originals on more perishable materials and that copies were maintained carefully.

4. M.E.R. 523-525 of 1911, 449, 450, 664-66 of 1916 ; M.E.R. 1912, pt. II, para 34; M.E.R. 1917, pt. II, para 8; M.E.R. 1923, pt. II, para 56.

There are references to various administrative offices such as *tirumandira-ōlai*,[1] *vari-ilār*[2], *puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷa nāyagam*[3], the *taṛkuṛi* office[4], and *varippottaga nāyagam*[5]. The officer *Tirumandira-ōlai* or *ōlai* as he was sometimes called, was a member of the *tirumandira-ōlai nāyagam* which was the department in charge of taking down the orders of the king[6]. The *puravuvari tiṇaikkala nāyagam* was obviously the Department of Land Revenue or the Department of Revenue Accounts. The *varippottagam* was the section in charge of the Tax Register. *Varippoṭṭaganāyagam* was apparently the Department of *varippottagam*. The officers of the revenue department were called *variyilār* (or *puravuvariyār*).

The system of local administration by means of the *sabhā* continued during this period and contributed to the efficient administration of the local areas. Some epigraphs contain interesting details about the activities of the *sabhās*. One epigraph records the grant of a village as *ḍēvadāna* by the assembly of Parāntaka Caturvēdimangalam in Ārināḍu for repairs to the temple at Aḻagarkōil by Iḷaiyavilli Dāsar[7]. There is reference to the executive committee (*nirvāha sabhai*) of a village[8]. In one case the assembly complained to the king about the improper action of some persons who had dug a subsidiary channel above the main channel called *Parākrama Pāṇḍyan kāl*[9].

Many taxes and dues are mentioned in epigraphs of the period. Some of them are *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam* and *pañjupīli*. Not much is

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1. M.E.R. 14 of 1932, 277 and 279 of 1942.
2. M.E.R. 60, 62 of 1905, 9 of 1932, 239, 265 of 1942.
3. M.E.R. 239, 243, 265 of 1942.
4. M.E.R. 338 of 1918.
5. M.E.R. 165 of 1903.
6. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam : *South Indian Polity*, p. 138. The term *ōlai* means a palm leaf. In course of time it came to be used to denote a document ("nam *ōlaiyum keloiyum taraeconnom*"), an office and an officer. For instance, the office of the *tirumandira-olai* department was also called *tirunamdira-olai* or simply *olai*.
7. M.E.R. 22 of 1932.
8. M.E.R. 449 of 1906.
9. M.E.R. 324 of 1908.

known at present about their exact nature. Particularly with regard to transactions pertaining to tax-free (*iṟaiyili*) gifts of land, the following set of taxes with some modifications, are invariably mentioned :—*Kaḍamai, antarāyam, karpūṟavilai, ponvari, viniyōgam, kāriya ārāṭci, veṭṭippaṭṭam, pañjupīli, śandivigrahappēṟu, ilāñcinaip-pēṟu, taṟi-iṟai, śekkiṟai, taṭṭoli, taṭṭārappāṭṭam, iḍaiyar vari, ina vari, ēriminpāṭṭam, kāṇikkai, kārtigai paccai, maṟṟum, eppēṟpaṭṭa iṟaigaḷum mudalaḍangakkaḷi'y. . iṟaiyiliyāgakkuḍuttōm*"[1]. This form is especially noticeable in inscriptions of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century A.D. The rates of land tax seem to have varied according to the nature of the soil and crops raised[2].

Some records refer to the temple's share of *kaḍamai*[3]. There were different forms of land tenure[4]. On many occasions tax

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1. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam : *South Indian Polity*, pp. 143, 166, 175, 188, 191. The *kadamai* was the land revenue collected from wet lands and was generally paid in kind. The *antarayam* was a local tax payable in cash. The *karpura vilai* was evidently an import duty on camphor. The *ponvari* was a tax payable in gold. *Viniyogam* means distribution. It was a local tax distributed among all the people. The *vettippattam* was a tax for labour. The *śandhi-vigrahika* was a foreign Minister in charge of drafting the charters and epigraphs. The *silpis* who were the actual engravers on stone or copper, worked under him in the same department. The term *sandivigrahapperu* is evidently some contribution for the upkeep of the department in charge of drawing up charters and epighraphs which occupied a prominent place in mediaeval Pāndyan administration. The *ilancinaipperu* might have been some tax corresponding to the stamp duty levied now. Some of the taxes were in the nature of profession taxes. For instance *tari-irai* is evidently a tax on looms, *i.e.*, weavers. Perhaps the tax *sekkirai* was paid by the oil mongers, the *taṭṭārappaṭṭam* by the goldsmiths, and the *idaiyar vari* by the shepherds or cowherds. The *eriminpattam* was a tax paid by the fishermen. The *inavari* was a communal tax. The *karttigaippaccai* and *kanikkai* may have been contributions collected and distributed to temples and religious institutions. Since one of the meanings of *pili* is 'gold' *panjupili* might have been some such tax on cotton yarn or cloth. The word *tattu* has several meanings such as the loft of house or a potter's wheel. The term *tattoli* was apparently a tax on potters.

2. M.E.R. 73 and 91 of 1924.

3. M.E. 409 of 1914, 39 of 1924, I.P.S. 254.

4. M.E.R. 66 of 1916 mentions a form of tenure called *kāṇippidippāḍu*; M.E.R. 1916 pt. II, para 28; M.E.R. 291 of 1944 mentions a *Sākkai-kāṇi* granted to a bard *Cārapāṇar*.

remissions were made, for instance, on the occasion of a king's coronation[1] or when lands were silted up due to sea action or to floods[2].

Careful and elaborate arrangements were made by the Pāṇḍyas for irrigational facilities. Tanks, canals and sluices were built and repaired by them[3]. Funds were set apart for maintenance and for repairs and grants were made for laying out streets[4] and for founding villages[5].

There are references to various coins and standards of measurements. Among the numerous types of coins referred to are the following : the *drammas (tiramam)*[6], *dināras*,[7] *ānai accu*[8], *śōḷiyan kāśu*[9] and the *puḍukkuḷigai*[10]. Among the measures are mentioned the *paḍineṭṭadikōl*[11], the grain measure *Vīra Pāṇḍyan kāl*[12], the *Sundara Pāṇḍyan kōl*[13], the *Vikrama Pāṇḍyan kōl*[14], the rod *arul nidi*[15], the *śūla nāḷi*[16] and the *Kaḍārattu śūla ulakku*[17].

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1. M.E.R. 80 of 1905 of the 2nd year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya II records the remission of certain taxes on the occasion of the king's coronation.

2. M.E.R. 289 of 1913.

3. M.E.R. 450 of 1906, 14 of 1909, 380 of 1914, 79 of 1929, 282 of 1930.

4. aM.E.R. 431 of 1930 mentions the formation of a street named "*Tirumurai-seppedu-kanda-perumal-tiruvila vidi.*"

5. M.E.R. 543 and 549 of 1922; 273, 275 and 279 of 1930, 240, 243 of 1942 mentions the founding of a new *nagara* called Kulasekharapuram near Tirupparankunram.

6. M.E.R. 459 of 1909, 39 of 1929.

7. M.E.R. 136 of 1908

8. M.E.R. 265 of 1928.

9. M.E.R. 185 of 1936.

10. M.E.R. 48 of 1890, 273 of 1942.

11. M.E.R. 48 of 1890, 276 of 1942.

12. M.E.R. 275 of 1930.

13. M.E.R. 156 of 1894.

14. M.E.R. 265 of 1942.

15. M.E.R. 59 of 1929.

16. M.E.R. 160 of 1894.

17. M.E.R. 159 of 1894.

Some records state that during the time of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I there was a change in the standards of measurement since the people were reduced in circumstances and were in distress[1]. The standard grain measure was changed from 6 *kalam* to 7 *kalam* and 3 *kuruṇi* and the value of the *tiramam* was increased from 5 *mā* to 7 *mā* of *kāśu*. The old 18 span land measure was now changed to one of 24 spans. The new lineal measure was called the *kuḍitāngi*[2].

Merchant corporations of various types are also mentioned in mediaeval Pāṇḍyan epigraphs. These mercantile guilds had a strong corporate sense. They were often known as the *nagarattār*, perhaps by reason of their association with the administration of cities or *nagaras*[3]. Certain towns in the Madurai country appear to be the strongholds of such corporations. There is frequent mention of the *nagarattār* of Dēśippaṭṭinam *alias* Vikramaśōḷapuram (modern Vikkiramangalam in Madurai district).[4] The town appears to have been given the name *paṭṭinam* because of its connection with the colony of merchants. Two records call the town a Dēśippaṭṭanam *alias* Jayampoḷil Vikramaśōḷapuram[5]. *Jayampoḷil* is evidently a variation of the term *ayyapoḷil* which is the name of a merchant guild One record also mentions the *māśāttuvar* of the town[6]. Tiṭṭāṇḍatāna puram was another stronghold of the mercantile corporations. Two records[7] from this place furnish very interesting information about the names of the mercantile communities who resided here and the ancient names of this place which point to the high antiquity of the commercial connections of this city. One of these mentions the

1. M.E.R. 73, 91 of 1924; M.E.R. 1924, pt. II, para 31.

2. M.E.R. 174 of 1937.

3. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam: *South Indian Polity*, p. 394.

4. M.E.R. 15 of 1894; 613, 616 and 617 of 1926.

5. M.E.R. 15 of 1894; 617 of 1926.

6. M.E.R. 617 of 1926.

7. M.E.R. 598 & 603 of 1926; M.E.R. 18 of 1914 and 16 of 1917 of the time of Jatavarman Vira Pandya (Accn. 1254 A.D.) also mention assemblies of merchants. M.E.R. 1927, pt. II, paras 41, 46.

añjuvaṇṇam and *maṇigrāmam*[1], two merchant guilds which have evoked considerable interest among scholars. The other record says that the name of the god of the temple at the place was the God of Śiṟu-kaḍaṟkarai in Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam. This apparently had been the original name of Tittāṇḍatānapuram. To the deity in this temple a gift was made of the village Marungūr *alias* Paṇḍitaśōḷacaturvēdi-mangalam. Perhaps the famous town of the Sangam age, Marungūr-paṭṭinam, was situated near about this village Marungūr.

The meetings of the mercantile guilds were often held in *maṇ-ḍapas* in temples. One record says that they assembled in a hall called '*ainnūṟṟuvan-tirukkāvaṇam*" in a temple[2]. There is a reference to a street called Nānādēśipperunteru[3].

Regarding the administration of justice, though the nature of the judicial system is not directly referred to, there is much information in the inscriptions of the period with reference to cases, especially criminal, and their disposal. Burning lamps in temples appear to have been one method of expiation of crime[4]. Confiscation of property and levy of fines were some of the punishments for serious offences[5]. There are references to some cases of mismanagement and misconduct by temple servants and managers[6] and of theft of temple jewels[7]. As far as possible, all cases were tried

1. The record (598 of 1926) says that an agreement was made by the mercantile communities (evidently of Tittāndatānapuram, since the record says "*ivvūril irukkira*") for levying certain taxes on the commodities sold or purchased, to supplement the expenses of rebuilding in stone the ruined *mandapa* of a temple. Those who met for this purpose were the people of the 18 provinces (*viṣayam*) *añjuvaṇṇam*, *manigramam*, *Tirumalaimatakkal alias Tiruvambalam Udaiyār* of Araisur, the *Sāmanta-pandasāli*, the *Aisar* (?) among the *Ariyas*, the residents of Kuḍuttu-Mukamalagiyan-Perunderuvu, the *Bhattariyar*, the *Tōyūvattiraccettigal*, the *Valanjiyar* of South Ceylon, the *kaikkolas*, the *tāswar* the *vāniyar* and the *nindakarai-yar*. M.E.R. 52 of 1929 refers to a merchant of the Manigrāmam of Kodumbālūr.

2. M.E.R. 10 of 1924.

3. M.E.R. 43 of 1929.

4. M.E.R. 67 and 188 of 1906.

5. M.E.R. 315 of 1909; M.E.R. 1910, pt. II, para 34.

6. M.E.R. 372 of 1906, 125 of 1908.

7. M.E.R. 372 of 1906.

by the village officers and the *sabhā*. Only when the case was difficult to solve it was reported to the king and his officers. The ordeal of the ploughshare[1] was resorted to in some instances. Offenders against the temple were regarded as *Śivadrōhis* and those against the king and the country as *rājadrōhins* and *nāṭṭudrōhins*[2].

Regarding civil disputes, some epigraphs made reference to disputes over the right of worship in temples, distribution of *prasādams* and temple honours and privileges[3]. There are references to religious disputes[4]. Arbitration was largely used to settle civil disputes[5].

LITERATURE : The mediaeval period was marked by a large output of philosophical works, commentaries, *purāṇas* and *prabhandas*. Scholars were greatly patronised by temples and *maṭhas* which began to take a prominent part in the educational system of the country. Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr Nambi composed his *Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* during this period. The *meykīrttis* of some of the Pāṇḍyan kings[6] are good specimens of the poetical compositions of the period. Kings were liberal patrons of scholars. Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I's high regard for learning and men of letters is revealed by an inscription which states that after he conquered the Cōḷas he uprooted all the pillars in the Cōla palace excepting the sixteen which belonged to the *maṇḍapa* where *Paṭṭinappalai* of Kaṇṇan was first pre-

1. M.E.R. 372 of 1906.

2. M.E.R. 372 of 1906.

3. M.E.R. 467 of 1909, 108 of 1916, 571 of 1920.

4. M.E.R. 387 and 392 of 1906 and I.P.S. 340 and 341 record the settlement of a Saiva-Vaisnava dispute. K.R. Venkatarama Iyer: *Manual of Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 648-649.

5. M.E.R. 380 of 1914; M.E.R. 1915, pt. II, para 32.

6. The eulogies of Jatavarman Kulasekhara beginning with "*Pūtalamadandai*" "*Puvinkilatti*" and "*Putalavanidai*", the long introductions of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I beginning "*Pumaruviya tirumadandaiyum*", those of Maravarman Sundara Pandya II beginning "*Pumalar tiruvum*" and the rare Tamil eulogy "*Pumalar valartigal*" of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I are some of the Tamil *meykirttis* of the Pandyas. There are also Sanskrit *meykirttis* such as those of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I beginning "*Samasta Jagadadhara*" and those of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya beginning "*Samasta Bhuvanekavira*".

sented for approval[1]. There are references to the court poet Kāraṇai Viḻupparaiyar[2] under this king. Libraries were maintained in temples[3]. There was promotion of Vēdic and *śāstraic* studies[4].

SOME CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE MADURAI COUNTRY: The writings of foreign travellers such as the Venetian Marco Polo[5] and of Muslim historians like Wassaf[6], contain much information about mediaeval Madurai and the Pāṇḍyan kingdom which was known to them as Ma'bar or Maabar. The Arabic term Ma'bar means ferry or passage, indicative of the facilities for trade obtainable in the Pāṇḍya country. Their accounts show that Madurai was the centre of a kingdom with a flourishing trade, both internal and external. Marco Polo describes at length the kingdom of Ma'bar, its ports such as Kāyal, its pearl fisheries and trade in pearls and horses[7], the royal court and the king's treasures. His writings contain many details about justice, religion and social life of the mediaeval Pāṇḍyan empire. Marco Polo says that "The great province of Ma'bar..is styled India the Greater; it is best of all the Indies..this province..is the finest and noblest in the world. At this end of the province reigns one of those five Royal Brothers, who is a crowned king, and his name is Sonder Bandi Davar (Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva). In his kingdom they find very fine and great pearls[8]...The king possesses vast treasures and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great

1. M.E.R. 197 of 1939. Kannan refers to the Sangam poet Kadiyalur Rudran Kannanar, the author of *Pattinappalai*, composed in honour of Karikala Cola.

2. M.E.R. 75 of 1924; M.E.R. 71 of 1924 refers to a gift made by a chief to a poet Kodikkondan Periyan Adiccadevan for composing a poem (*Pillaikkavi*) in his honour; M.E.R. 248 of 1941 mentions a gift of land made by the *nagarattar* of a place to Tiru-uidaiyan Devan *alias* Pittai Serakonar as *pulamaivritti*.

3. M.E.R. 695 of 1916.

4. M.E.R. 258 of 1941.

5. Yule & Cordier, Ed., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 331 ff.

6. Elliot & Dowson: *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III p. 24 ff.

7. Wassaf also refers to the flourishing horse trade of the Pandya kingdom _ Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 33-4.

8. Yule & Cordier: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 331.

equity and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners so that they are very glad to visit his city."[1]

Horses appear to have been one of the chief imports into the Madurai country even as early as the Śangam age. Referring to the import of a great number of horses into the Pāṇḍya country, Marco Polo says, "Here are no horses bred ; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses..The reason why they want so many horses every year is that by the end of the year..They all die off[2]..Many feed their horses with boiled rice and boiled meat, and various other kinds of cooked food. That is the reason why all the horses die off."[3]

Wassaf also remarks on the prosperous trade of the Pāṇḍya country, thus: "The curiosities of Chin (China) and Machin (Canton) and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships.. are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum (Turkey) and Europe are derived from Mabar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind."[4] "Wassaf states that 'Kales Dewar,'[5] the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country, nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth, inasmuch, that in the treasury of the City of Mardi (Madurai) there were 1,200 crores of gold deposited, every crore being equal to a thousand laks, and every lak to one hundred thousand dinars. Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds—more than is in the power of language to express."[6]

C. MADURAI AND MADAKKULAM IN THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

Madurai is frequently mentioned in inscriptions, both Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya, of the mediaeval period. Still, the material available does

1. Ibid, pp. 370-71.
2. Yale & Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 340.
3. Ibid, p. 345. Cf. Wassaf in Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit*, Vol. III, pp. 33-34.
4. Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 32.
5. This refers to Maravarman Kulasekhara I.
6. Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit* III, p. 52.

not help one to get a connected picture of the city or the whereabouts of the palaces mentioned therein.

Cōḷa and Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya epigraphs throw some light on Cōḷa palaces in the region and on activities of Cōḷas like Kulōttunga III in the Madurai city. A record of the tenth year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I states that Rājēndra constructed at Madurai a huge palace (*māḷigai*) and that he anointed his son as Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[1]. A record of Sundara-sōḷa Pāṇḍya states that the king was at dinner in the *Siddharkūṭam* in his pleasure garden called *puttan* on the north side of Māḍakkuḷakkil Madurai and was seated on "Rājēndraśōḷa Atimūrkkaccengirai"[2]. Two records of the 31st and 34th years of Kulōttunga III give some details of the city of Madurai[3]. They mention the outer ramparts of the city and the *kūḍa-maṇḍapam* of the Pāṇḍyas[4]. After capturing the city of Madurai, the Cōḷa worshipped the God (*seḷuññuḍar*) at Tiruvālavāy and made various gifts to the temple. Further the city of Madurai is stated to have been renamed Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam as Sōḷa-Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. The Pāṇḍya king's *maṇḍapam* was inscribed with the name of the conqueror as "Śēra-Pāṇḍyan Tambirān."

Many Pāṇḍya inscriptions refer to the palace of the Pāṇḍyas, the many thrones[5], halls[6], gardens[7], chambers[8], and palace

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1. M.E.R. 363 of 1917.
2. M.E.R. 332 of 1916.
3. I.P..S. 163 and 166.
4. Perhaps the audience or durbar hall.
5. There are references to the thrones called *Malavarayan* (M.E.R. 13 and 149 of 1894, 82 of 1905, 459 of 1909, 340 and 550 of 1916, 549 of 1922, 275, 278, 279, 289 of 1930, 236 of 1941), *Kalingarayan* (M.E.R. 14 of 1894, 540 of 1916, 543 of 1922, 243 of 1942), *Kalingattaraiyan* (M.E.R. 324 of 1908, 393 of 1917, 322 of 1922, 266 of 1928, 371 of 1930), *Munaiyadaraiyan* (M.E.R. 5 of 1894; 327 of 1908, 461 of 1909, 450, 472, 660, 661 of 1916, 317 of 1923, 204 of 1933), *Pallavarayan* (M.E.R. 132 of 1894), *Tamilappallavarayan* (M.E.R. 522 of 1911), *Vanadarayan* (M.E.R. 188 of 1944), *Isaiyalavugandan* (M.E.R. 130 of 1910), and *Pandyarajan* (I.P.S. 243 ; M.E.R. 322, 326 of 1908, 619 of 1926, 6 of 1919).
6. There were halls called *Manabharanan* (M.E.R. 130 of 1910). *Srivallabhan* (M.E.R. 5 of 1894, 204 of 1933, 450 of 1916), *Alagiya Pandiyan* (324, 326 of 1908, 393 of 1917, 6 of 1929, I.P .S. 243) and *Pugalabharanan* (459 of 1909).
7. M.E.R. 316 of 1923 mentions a *niravi mandapa* in the *toppu* on the northern side of the palace.
8. I.P.S. 270 mentions an *olakkappalliyarai* in the palace at Madakkulakkil Madurai in *Madurodaya Valanadu*.

maids[1] in this palace. Further, a Tirujnānasambandan *maṭha* in the city is also mentioned[2].

The flourishing city of Madurai is invariably termed in mediaeval epigraphs as Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ Madurai in *Madurōdaya Vaḷanāḍu*[3]. Māḍakkuḷam appears to have been an important place in the mediaeval period since Madurai and other place names are referred to in relation to it as Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ Madurai, Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ Tirupparankunṟam[4], Māḍakkulakkīḻ Aṟiyūr[5], Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ Kulaśēkharapuram[6] and Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ *brahmadēya* Koḍimangalam[7]. The suffix *kīḻ* may not be merely a reference to the place named being east of Māḍakkuḷam in which case villages west or north or south of Māḍakkuḷam should be similarly referred to. On the other hand even Koḍimangalam which is north-west of Māḍakkuḷam is referred to as Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ *brahmadēya*. The term *Māḍakkuḷakkīḻ* may therefore be a reference to a territorial or administrative unit, which included not only the city of Madurai but also other places like Tirupparankunṟam and Koḍimangalam. Even up to the middle of the 19th century the present Madurai taluk was known as Māḍakkuḷam taluk[8].

The modern village of Māḍakkuḷam is about four miles west of Madurai and is immediately to the east of the large tank from which it takes its name. A Tamil proverb significant of the large size of the tank says that Madurai city would be ruined if the Māḍakkuḷam tank overflowed[9]. In fact the deity in the Aiyanār Temple

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1. M.E.R. 720 of 1916 mentions an *agapparivara* maid who set up an image of a goddess and presented many jewels to the deity.

2. M.E.R. 13 of 1894, 62 of 1905.

3. More than 50 epigraphs refer to Madakkulakkil Madurai. Some of them are M.E.R. 15, 136 of 1894, 245 of 1941 and 252 of 1942.

4. M.E.R. 239, 252 and 265 of 1942.

5. M.E.R. 243 of 1942.

6. M.E.R. 243 of 1942. This was a new village created near Tirupparankunram in the time of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I.

7. M.E.R. 47, 48 of 1890, 273 of 1942. Kodimangalam is about eight miles to the north-west of Madurai.

8. W. Francis: *Madura District Gazetteer* pp. 206, 254.

9. Nambi's *Tiruvilaiyadal*, p. 55, note to stanza 13. "*Māḍakkulam perugināl Madurai pāḻ.*"

on the eastern bund of the tank is called Karaikākkum Aiyanār or one who guards the bund[1].

B.S. Ward who carried out a survey of the Māḍakkuḷam taluk about 1817 A.D. states that "Madacolum a considerable village west of Madura is situated under the bank of a large tank in the midst of paddy cultivation. It is composed of a few but regular streets.... with a pagoda[2] at the west end of some celebrity"[3]. The Māḍakkuḷam village is fairly large and important even today and the Māḍakkuḷam tank still remains one of the chief sources of irrigation in the neighbourhood.

The modern village does not appear to have any visible vestiges of its past glory, but a study of some of the field names here may be of value and may yield interesting information. The southern part of the village called the Paḷangānattam hamlet is believed to be the older part of the village. The term *paḷangānattam* may be a corruption of *paḷangālanattam* and may thus refer to the older portions of the place.

There is a tradition that the old Pāṇḍya palace stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Māḍakkuḷam village. There is a tank here called "*Vīramuḍaiyān Kaṇmōi*". Some fields to the east of it are called *mānam muṭṭi* which translated would mean "sky high". This name is rather suggestive. Perhaps it refers to some high tower or palace gate which may have existed here. To the east and north of *mānam muṭṭi* a number of fields are known by the name "*Kōvalan Poṭṭal*". The local people point to two heavily worne stones here as the place where Kovalan was executed[4]. The name *mānam muṭṭi* as well as the presence of these stones in this

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1. He is also called *Iḍādi Aiyanār*; but the significance of this name is not clear. The temple appears to have an ancient history. R. Sewell, in his *List of Antiquities* (Vol. I, p. 291) says that it had inscriptions. But the present structure is a modern one.

2. This is a reference to the Aiyanār temple in the village.

3. B.S. Ward: *Geographical and Statistical Menmoirs of the Provinces of Madura and Dindigul*, Vol. III, p. 13.

4. Perhaps the stone is a menhir and may be worth investigating.

neighbourhood lend some weight to the view that the palace may have been located here in the past.

Other interesting field names found here are *paccanācci*, *aṭṭagam*, *aḷagapattu* and *marabapattu*. *Aṭṭagam* seems to have some connection with the numeral *eight* and *agam* means "house"; but the meaning of the term is not very clear. It is very tempting to take this word as a corruption of *aṣṭagajam* (eight elephants). The fields called *Aḷagapattu* are probably lands belonging to some temple. The name *Maṟabapattu* is perhaps a variation of *maṟavapattu* and may have been the quarters of the Maṟavas from whom many warriors were recruited to the army.[1] Some fields skirting the eastern bund of the Māḍakkuḷam tank are called *tāmaraippaḷḷam*. Evidently there might have been a lotus pond here.

In the absence of visible vestiges above the ground the site of the ancient palace of the Pāṇḍyas may become known only with the help of the archaeologist's spade. However, the evidences mentioned above do not seem to rule out a conclusion that possibly in early days the city or parts of it were located near here.

D. THE TEMPLE IN THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

There is not much evidence to make a connected account of the great temple at Madurai and of the other temples nearby during the mediaeval period. Some interesting information, however, can be gathered about them from numerous epigraphs of the period. These records mention various gifts and endowments to the temples, constructional operations, names of temple servants, *maṭhas* and religious teachers, festivals, currency and measures in use and many other customs of the period.

The great temple at Madurai is referred to as the temple of Tiruvālavāyuḍaiya Nāyanār[2]. In mediaeval epigraphs, shrines of goddesses are often named as Tirukkāmakōṭṭam. The mention

1. M.E.R. 252 of 1942 refers to the Madakkulakkil Korravasal seri maravar and says that Pudukkulam was their *jivita*. M.E.R. 504 of 1907, a Vatteluttu record of about the 9th c. A.D., refers to the "Korrayavir ceri kurram" of Mada Madirai.

2. M.E.R. 46 of 1890 : 267, 270, 278, 281 of 1942.

of the Tirukkāmakkōṭṭattu Āḷuḍaiya Nācciyār[1] in a record from the Madurai temple is apparently a reference to the shrine of Goddess Mīnākṣi. There is mention of the deity, Adiraviśi Āḍuvār in the temple[2]. Since there are as many as five Naṭarāja shrines in the Madurai temple, it is not clear to which shrine the record refers.

A record states that Āḷuḍaiya Nāyakiyār (Avaiya Nāyakiyār?) was the name of Āḷuḍaiya Nācciyār of the Tirupparankunramuḍaiya Nāyanār Temple[3]. The shrine of Kṣētrapāla Piḷḷaiyār in the temple of Tirupparankunṟam and the provision made for its worship by remitting taxes on the village of Kulaśēkharapuram are mentioned in an inscription[4].

Epigraphs from Aḻagarkōyil refer to the image of Nāyanār Āṭkoṇḍa Viṇṇagar Emberumān set up by one Mahīpāḷar[5], a shrine of Śēnaimudaliyār[6] and the image of Tiruvāḻi Āḻvār[7]. The deity at Aḻagarkōyil is stated to have had *pīṭhas* of various names such as the Kālingarāyan *pīṭha*[8] and the Cēdirāyan *pīṭha*[9], probably in the Kulaśēkhara *pandal*.

GIFTS AND ENDOWMENTS of different kinds were made to the great temple at Madurai for various purposes such as the maintenance of lamps[10] (*tiruviḷakkuppuram*), the god's *tirumañjanam*[11] and *śandanakkāppu*,[12] for the temple festivals[13], for *śandis* in the names of kings and private individuals, for the temple musicians[14], to the temple servants (*toṇḍar*)[15], for gardens[16] and for *maṭhas*[17]

1. M.E.R. 278 of 1942.
2. M.E.R. 281 of 1942.
3. M.E.R. 339 of 1918 ; 238 of 1942 also refers to the Goddess Avaiya Nayaki.
4. M.E.R. 243 of 1942.
5. M.E.R. 317 of 1913.
6. M.E.R. 326 of 1930.
7. M.E.R. 290 of 1930.
8. M.E.R. 284 of 1930
9. M.E.R. 320 of 1930.
10. M.E.R. 46 of 1890 ; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 369 ; M.E.R. 275 of 1942.
11. M.E.R. 50 of 1890 ; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 373.
12. M.E.R. 280 of 1942.
13. M.E.R. 278 and 281 of 1942.
14. M.E.R. 276 and 277 of 1942.
15. M.E.R. 140 of 1903.
16. M.E.R. 270 and 278 of 1942.
17. M.E.R. 60 and 62 of 1905; 4 of 1915 : 278 of 1942.

TEMPLE SERVANTS: Many classes of temple servants are referred to; for instance the *kaṇakku bhaṇḍāri*[1], the *dēvakanmis*,[2] the *patipādamūla paṭṭuḍaipañcācāriyar*[3] and the temple *tānattār*[4] are mentioned in the inscriptions in the great temple at Madurai. These appear to be officials connected with the administration of the temple. The following are mentioned in the epigraphs from other temples in and around the City: the *dēvakanmis*[5], *Śivabrāhmaṇas*[6], *śrīkāryam seyvār*[7], *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*[8] and *Nambuṣeyvān*[9].

More details are provided by certain epigraphs about the names of the musicians and *śilpis* attached to the great temple at Madurai. One inscription refers to the temple musician called Periyān Tanivandān who had the title "*Vallānaivenṟa Pāṇḍya Vādyamārāyan*"[10]. This title was evidently conferred on him by King Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I one of whose titles was "*Vallānai Venṟān*". Another record granting land as *jīvitakkāṇi* for the maintenance of eleven musicians of the temple gives the names of some musical instruments used in the temple such as *vīramaddaḷam, kōl* (?), *maddaḷam, timilai, kāśai* and *tiruccinnam*[11]. Among the temple *śilpis* who were often responsible for the inscribing of the epigraphs also, may be mentioned *sthapatiyārāyan*[12], *tiruvālavāyācāriyan*[13], *kūḍalācāriyan*[14], and *Nālmāḍakkūḍalācāriyan*[15] alias *Panavallabhan natta peruntōḷan*.

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1. M.E.R. 272 of 1942
2. M.E.R. 272 of 1942
3. M.E.R. 280 of 1942
4. M.E.R. 50 of 1890
5. M.E.R. 252 and 243 of 1942
6. M.E.R. 252 of 1942
7. M.E.R. 275 of 1930 and 243 of 1942.
8. M.E.R. 275, 279, 291, 292 of 1930.
9. M.E.R. 279 of 1930.
10. M.E.R. 277 of 1942.
11. M.E.R. 276 of 1942.
12. M.E.R. 46 of 1890.
13. M.E.R. 50 of 1890.
14. M.E.R. 275 of 1942.
15. M.E.R. 280 of 1942.

FESTIVALS: The *Āvaṇittirunāl* and the *Tiruppūrattinmōnbu* festival in the month of *Aippaśi*[1] are mentioned in inscriptions of the Madurai temple. Provisions were made for feeding 1000 persons at the rate of 100 per day at the Bhuvanēkhaviran *maṭha* during the *Āvaṇi* festival[2].

Epigraphs from Aḷagarkōyil mention the *Kauśikōtsava* festival[3] and the festivals in *Āḍi* and *Aippaśi* and the *Mārgaḷi Tiruvadhi-yanam*[4].

MATHAS: In the mediaeval period *maṭhas*, like the temples, played an important role in the promotion of learning, culture and religion. From about the 10th century onwards *maṭhas* grew in influence and popularity under the liberal patronage of kings and nobles. Many *maṭhas* attached to temples often had control over temple affairs. The *maṭhas* welcomed pilgrims and arranged for feeding ascetics. Many religious teachers were maintained and provision was made in them for the study of Vèdas, *śāstras* and *purāṇas*. The construction of *maṭhas* and temples was generally encouraged by kings and nobles.

The mediaeval *maṭhas* acted as important centres of learning, education and religious activity and helped the growth of religious art and architecture as well as sacred music and dance. The mediaeval epigraphs contain many details of the activities of *maṭhas* and the religious pontiffs who presided over them in Madurai and the Madurai country. There were many *maṭhas* representing different sects of Hinduism in Madurai, Tirupparankuṉṟam and Tirumāliruñjōlai. The Tirujñānasambandan *maṭha* situated in Māḍakkuaḷakkiḷ Madurai is frequently mentioned in epigraphs of the period[5]. This *maṭha* appears to have wielded great influence on religious and social life in the Madurai country. The *maṭha* is now situated near the temple between the South Citrai Street and South Āvaṇi Mūla Street.

1. M.E.R. 281 of 1942.
2. M.E.R. 278 of 1942
3. M.E.R. 321 of 1930.
4. M.E.R. 279 of 1930
5. M.E.R. 13 of 1894 ; 62 of 1905 ; 285 of 1916 ; There were *mathas* called Tirujnanasambandan *maths* at various places in the Pandya country, *e.g.*, at Tiruputtur, Ramnad District (M.E.R. 129 of 1908) and at Tenkarai, Madurai District (M.E.R. 126 of 1910).

It still continues to be one of the most important of the *maṭhas* of the Tamil country. In a record of the second year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (acc. 1190 A.D.) the Tirujñānasambandan *maṭha* is stated to have been under the control of the *ācārya* of the Dakṣiṇa Gōḷakimaṭha of Tiruvārūr.[1]

From about the time of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I many religious teachers belonging to the *Bhikṣāmaṭha-santāna* of the Gōḷakimaṭha of Tiruvārūr appear to have immigrated from the north and settled in the Madurai country. A record of the eleventh year of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I[2] states that provision was made for feeding of the ascetic Īśānadēva and his pupils who were residing in the Nallaperumāḷ *maṭha* at Karuṅguḷam *alias* Śādavācakanallūr. They had immigrated from the Kṛṣṇa Gōḷakimatha at Tiruvārūr. In another record of the 20th year of the same king[3] the chief Maḷavamāṇikkam Tirukkānappēruḍaiyān *alias* Maḷavacakravarti makes a gift of land as *gurudakṣiṇa* to a certain Kavirāyar Īśvaraśiva-Uḍaiyār who was a native of the Uttaradēśam. The same chief makes a gift the next year to another Śaiva teacher called Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva[4] of the Tirujñānasambandar *maṭha* at Tiruppattūr. Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva was a disciple of Ācāramaḷagiyān *maṭha* at Tiruvārūr. Evidently this was also one of the Dakṣina Gōḷaki *maṭhas*. Four epigraphs[5] of Jaṭāvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya from the Mīnākṣi temple at Madurai state that provision was made for feeding persons looking after the cows which were obtained by begging (*irandu*) for the temple by Niṟṟayangiyāḍuvār of the Bhikṣāmaṭha *santāna* and housed in a *gōśālai*[6] named after Māmaḍi Sōmēśvara.

Other *maṭhas* in Madurai city were the Bhuvanēkavīran *maṭha*[7] situated to the north of the Tirucceṇḍuveḷi[8], the *Naralōkasūryan maṭha*[9].

1. M.E.R. 13 of 1894, 62 of 1905.
2. M.E.R. 504 of 1909.
3. M.E.R. 47 of 1924.
4. M.E.R. 129 of 1908.
5. M.E.R. 188-191 of 1944.
6. At present there is a *gosalai* in the temple in the southern half of the West Adi Street.
7. M.E.R. 278 of 1942.
8. This is perhaps a reference to a broad processional street in which the god was taken in a *vaiyali* manner.
9. M.E.R. 4 of 1915.

the *Terkil maṭha*[1], the *Sundara Pāṇḍyan maṭha*[2], the *Manam Periyān maṭha*[3], and the *Āmuṇḍa maṭha*[4].

During the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I, the Tirujñānasambandar *maṭha* at *tenkarai*[5] was presided over by the Mudaliyārs of the *Pāṇḍarangavaṇar Santāna*. One of them was Umaiyorupāgar of Kulaśēkharapuram.

The *Teṟkil maṭha* at Madurai was in charge of a certain Nīlakanṭha Śiva, one of whose disciples, Tirunelvēli Uḍaiyār, is mentioned in two records of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II[6]. One record says that Jñānamukti Dēva was a disciple of the Ācārya Periyadēva of the *Nandikēśvaradēvar Santāna* who presided over the Āmuṇḍa *maṭha*[7].

There were many *maṭhas* in Tirupparankuṉṟam also. There are references to the Kīḻai *maṭha*[8] in charge of the Mudaliyārs of the Goḷaki *santāna*, the Melai *maṭha*[9] under the Mudaliyārs, the Pāṇḍanambalankāṭṭina Perumaḷ *maṭha*[10] under Mudaliyār Parākramadēvar and the Ponnambalankāṭṭinān *maṭha*[11] in charge of Irāvalar Paśupatidēva. A record of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II[12] states that a *maṭha* was constructed in the name of Prince Bhagavati Āḻvār to the north-east of the temple at Tirupparankuṉṟam.[13]

At Aḷagarkōyil there were a number of Vaiṣṇava *maṭhas* such as the Kulaśēkharan *maṭha* constructed by Munaiyadaraiyār *alias* Śrīrāman Uyyavandān of Kappalūr[14], the Tirunāḍuḍaiyān *maṭha*[15]

1. M.E.R. 131 and 132 of 1894.
2. M.E.R. 60 of 1905.
3. M.E.R. 560 of 1911. The record states that this *matha* was built in the name of Viluppadarayar and was in charge of Jnanamukti Deva and his disciples.
4. M.E.R. 422 of 1907 and 560 of 1911.
5. M.E.R. 126 of 1910.
6. M.E.R. 131 of 1894 and 132 of 1894.
7. M.E.R. 560 of 1911.
8. M.E.R. 15 of 1894; 617 of 1926; and 252 and 253 of 1942. 15 of 1894 and 252-253 of 1942 refer to the tapasvin Tiruccirrambalamudaiyar, while 617 of 1926 refers to Kayilayadevan *alias* Sivadeva.
9. M.E.R. 338 of 1918.
10. M.E.R. 136 of 1903; S.I.I. Vol. VIII, No. 423.
11. M.E.R. 265 of 1942.
12. M.E.R. 248 of 1942.
13. M.E.R. 239 of 1942.
14. M.E.R. 279 of 1930.
15. M.E.R. 277 and 278 of 1930.

built for *Tridaṇḍi Sanyāsis* and *Ēkāngis* (*Ēkākis*) by Araiyan Tirunāḍuḍaiyān Nīlagangan of Kīḻaikkoḍumaḷūr, the Amaittanārāyaṇan *maṭha* and the Vāṇādarāyan *maṭha*[1].

The *Ēkadaṇḍi* and *Tridaṇḍi*[2] *sanyāsins* appear to have wielded much influence in the Madurai country since many epigraphs refer to them and the provisions made for feeding them[3].

Liberal provisions were made for the study of the Vēdas, *śāstras*, *purāṇas*[4] and the works of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints. A record mentions a gift of land as *Mahābhārata vritti* made by two brothers to provide for the reading of *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *purāṇas* in a *maṭha* built by them[5]. Teachers of the *Śāstras* were maintained in *maṭhas*[6]. Provisions were made for the recitation of the *Tirujñānam*[7], the *Tiruppadiyam*[8], the *Tirumuṟai*[9] and the *Tiruppāṭṭu* (*Dēvāram*)[10].

A record[11] of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II states that Śēvagattēvan *alias* Vāṇadhirāyar granted a village for offerings to the god Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyār during the service instituted by him in the temple and for feeding *paradeśikkōvanavar* reciting the *Tiruvembāvai* in *Śādārippaṇ* in the month of *Mārgali* while the deity halted at the *Vāṇādarāyar vāśal* to the south of the shrine of the Goddess.

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1. M.E.R. 13 of 1932.

2. M.E.R. 1912, pt. II, para 38. The *Ekadandis* and *Tridandis* were two orders of *Sanyasins*. The *Ekadandis* carried in their hands a single bamboo rod as the emblem of the order to which they belonged. The *Tridandis* carried three such rods tied together into one.

3. M.E.R. 117 of 1907; 544 of 1911; 667 of 1916; 72-74 of 1927; 276 of 1930; 13 of 1932.

4. M.E.R. 671 of 1916.

5. M.E.R. 546 of 1922; M.E.R. 1923, pt. II, para 50.

6. M.E.R. 667 of 1916.

7. M.E.R. 132 of 1894 mentions a *Tirujnanappura iraiyili* and those who recite the *Tirujnanam*.

8. M.E.R. 99 of 1908.

9. M.E.R. 92 of 1907.

10. M.E.R. 57 of 1924.

11. M.E.R. 187 of 1944. Sevagattevan is stated to have carried out extensive repairs to the temple of Madurai.

E. BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF THE PANDYAS

The mediaeval Pāṇḍyas were great patrons of art and architecture. Under them Dravidian architecture developed distinct styles. The *garbhagriha vimāna* which became a dominant feature under the Cōḷas gradually gave place to huge *gōpuras* and *prākāra* walls. From this period temple towers and *mandapas* received greater attention rather than the main shrine. The numerous epigraphs and literary evidences point to the intense building activity of the Pāṇḍya rulers who did much to glorify the temples spread throughout their wide empire.

Madurai and its environs suffered much during the Muslim interregnum and very few of the mediaeval structures have survived. Such parts of the Madurai temple as the *Kaḍaka Gōpura*, the East and West *Gōpura* and the Śangattār temple may be traced back to mediaeval times. These structures are dealt with in detail in Chapter X.

Numerous other buildings could be traced to the Pāṇḍya rulers. These show that there was very great activity in such constructions about this time. A *maṇḍapa* called after the name of Kulaśēkhara Narasingan was built at Tirupparankuṉṟam[1] by Narasinga who was probably an officer under Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkara I (acc. 1190 A.D.) Some records of 42nd and 1st year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I (about 1309-1310 A.D.) refer to the construction of the shrine of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭattu-Āḷudaiya Nācciyār in the Tirupparankunram temple by Śēndappiḷḷai[2].

A number of inscriptions from Aḻagarkōyil refer to the building activities of many Pāṇḍya kings as well as officers and private persons. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I built the "*Kōyil Ponmēynda Perumāḷ Tirumaṇḍapa*" in the temple. A "*Sundara Pāṇḍyan Maṇḍapa*"[3] is mentioned in some records[4]. The *Munaiyadaraiyan mandapa* was built by Moṉṉaippirān Viradamuḍittaperumāḷ *alias* Munaiyadaraiyan[5]. A *prākāra* wall called *Kōdaṇḍarāman Tirumadil* after

1. M.E.R. 251 of 1942.
2. M.E.R. 337, 338, 339 of 1918.
3. M.E.R. 84 of 1929
4. M.E.R. 313, 320 of 1930; 8 of 1932.
5. M.E.R. 270, 326 of 1930; 2 of 1932.

the name of the king is referred to[1]. A record on a dressed slab in the *Sundara Pāṇḍyan Maṇḍapa* gives the name of the slab as *Vīrama Araśan Pīṭham*[2]. Toṇḍaimānār built the *Tondaimān Gōpura*[3], evidently in the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II[4].

The shrine of Tiruvāḷi Āḻvān was set up in the Kāḷamēga Perumāḷ temple at Tirumōhūr by a certain Gāngēya[5]. A Vēlanātha shrine was built at Tirumōhūr in the king's name during the time of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I[6].

A record of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with the eulogy "*Pūtala Maḍandai*" etc. states that a *maṇḍapa* and a hall (*māḷigai*) named after the king were built in the temple of Tiruccakkarattāḻvār at Śōḻāntakacaturvēdimangalam[7]. During the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I the *garbhagriha*, the *ardha maṇḍapa* and *mahā maṇḍapa* of the Ninṛanārāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple at Tiruttangāl were built by the king's minister, Gurukulattaraiyan of Taḍangaṇṇiccirṛūr in Ś. 1149 (1227 A.D.)[8]

A record of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I refers to the construction of a *maṇḍapa* called "*Jñānasamudram*" in the king's name at the temple at Tentiruppērai[9].

The outer main *gōpura* of the Vikrama Pāṇḍyēśvara temple at Śōḻapuram was built by a Sundara Pāṇḍya[10]. One record refers to the building of several *maṇḍapas* in the Venkaṭācalapati Perumāḷ temple at Śōḷapuram[11].

1. M.E.R. 323 of 1930.
2. M.E.R. 215 of 1939.
3. M.E.R. 331 of 1930.
4. Tondaiman figures as an official in records of Maravarman Sundara Pandya II such as M.E.R. 80 of 1905; 668 of 1916, and also in records of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I such as M.E.R. 176 of 1892.
5. M.E.R. 330 of 1918.
6. M.E.R. 333 of 1918.
7. M.E.R. 327 of 1908 from Kuruvitturai in Madurai district.
8. M.E.R. 554 of 1922.
9. M.E.R. 284 of 1941
10. M.E.R. 492 of 1909. The identity of the king is not clear.
11. M.E.R. 498 of 1909.

One record of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I[1] states that the shrine of the goddess in the temple at Śannavanam was built by the king's aunt. A record from Pirānmalai states that the *gōpura* of the temple here was built by Bhuvanēkavira *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa. This perhaps refers to Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I who had these titles.

There is a reference to a *Vīra Pāndyan Tirumandapam* in the temple at Cidambaram[2]. Several records of Vikrama Pāṇḍya with eulogy "*Samasta Bhuvanaikavīra*" etc. refer to the building of the various shrines and parts of Oppilāmaṇīśvara temple at Arakaṇḍanallūr[3].

The reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I was one of the most distinguished periods in the history of Pāṇḍyan architecture. The king covered the temples at Cidambaram and Śrīrangam with gold[4]. He took the title "*Hēmaccādanarāja*" or "*Ponmēynda Perumāl*" ("He who covered the temples with gold"). Epigraphs refer to the images of Kōyil Ponmēynda Perumāḷ[5] and Ellāntalaiyāna Perumāḷ[6] set up by the king at various temples. He also made arrangements for festivals called either after his own name "*Sundara Pāndyan Sandi*"[7] or after some other titles of the king such as *Avanivēndarāman*[8]. A record from Tiruvindalūr[9] (Tanjore district) refers to a royal gift to the temple of Ponmēynda Perumāḷ here and the Ponmēynda Pāṇḍya Caturvēdimangalam founded in the name of the king. During his time many *gōpuras*, especially outer ones, shrines and *mandapas* were built in various parts of the Tamil country.

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1. M.E.R. 34 of 1916.
2. M.E.R. 616 of 1930.
3. M.E.R. 120, 127, 128 and 129 of 1935.
4. M.E.R. 19 of 1899.
5. M.E.R. 6 of 1937 from Srirangam, 150 of 1904 from Tiruvendipuram (S.A.), 531 of 1920 from Kattumannarkoyil (S.A.)
6. M.E.R. 329 of 1920 from Tirukoyilur, 529 of 1922 from Tirukkannapuram.
7. M.E.R. 150 of 1904, 533 of 1920.
8. M.E.R. 529 of 1922 mentions "*Kodandaraman Sandi*".
9. M.E.R. 2 of 1925.

CHAPTER VII

MADURAI UNDER FOREIGN YOKE

A. MADURAI UNDER THE MUSLIMS

1. The Raids of Malik Kafur and Khusru

The Pāṇḍya kingdom or Ma'bar which extended, as Wassaf says, "from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore) nearly three hundred *parasangs* along the sea coast," received a serious setback during the first quarter of the 15th c. A.D. After Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I's death the civil war between his two sons, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, and the plundering raids of Malik Kafur and Khusru led to the rapid disintegration of the Pāṇḍya empire and paved the way for the foundation of a Muslim Sultanate at Madurai.

Malik Kafur's raid on Ma'bar is believed to have been the result of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's flight to Delhi to ask Alauddin for help against his brother. But the chronology of the period seems to show that this is incorrect. Sundara may have sought the help of Kafur who had probably encamped somewhere in the Deccan. An epigraph mentions the days when Sundara Pāṇḍya returned with the *Tulukkar*, and there was distress owing to floods and "*kalaham*"[1]. The differences between the two Pāṇḍya brothers made the country an easy prey to Kafur. Sundara Pāṇḍya did not benefit much from the selfish Kafur whose only wish was to plunder and raid. Vīra Pāṇḍya sent an army to help Ballāla against Kafur. Kafur reached the Pāṇḍyan frontiers in March 1311 A.D.[2] He first marched against Bhir Dhul (identified with Vīradhāvaḷam or Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai)[3], the capital of Vīra Pāṇḍya, in the neighbourhood of Uṟaiyūr. Vīra Pāṇḍya had already fled from the city. The Pāṇḍyas avoided pitched battles and harassed Kafur with guerilla tactics.

Kafur marched towards Madurai, plundering and raiding cities and villages and desecrating temples on his way. When he

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1. M.E.R. 642 of 1902.

2. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 58.

3. M.E.R. 1940-43, pt. II, para 53.

reached Madurai on 10th April, 1311 A.D.[1] he was faced with an empty city from where Sundara Pāṇḍya had fled with his family and treasures. Amir Khusru states that Malik Kafur and his army "arrived at the city of Mathra (Madura), the dwelling place of the brother of the Rai Sundar Pāṇḍya. They found the city empty, for the Rai had fled with the Rāṇis, but had left two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnar (Cokkanātha). The elephants were captured and the temple burnt."[2]

The two Pāṇḍya brothers united together in the face of the formidable danger. Their uncle Vikrama Pāṇḍya assumed command of the army. Hearing of the Pāṇḍya coalition against him, Kafur left the city in a hurry. Soon he was defeated by Vikrama Pāṇḍya. Still Kafur managed to retreat with a large booty. From the available evidence it seems highly improbable that Kafur left a garrison at Madurai or went down to Rāmēśvaram. His expedition was a mere plundering raid in which Madurai city, more particularly the Madurai temple, suffered very heavily. Kafur's raid helped to add more confusion to the troublous state of affairs in a country already rent by a bitter civil war.

After Kafur's retreat the enmity between the two Pāṇḍya brothers again broke out. The ruler of South Travancore, Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara who had professed allegiance to the Pāṇḍyas till about 1312 A.D. took advantage of the confusion, invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom and rapidly overran the country from Madurai upto Kāñci. The Kēraḷa ruler claims to have defeated both Sundara Pāṇḍya[3] and Vīra Pāṇḍya[4]. Sundara Pāṇḍya asked the Kākatiya Pratāparudra II for help. The Kēraḷa ruler was ousted from Kāñci by Muppiḍi Nāyaka[5], the Kākatiya general. Muppiḍi Nāyaka is also stated to have defeated a Pāṇḍya king, perhaps Vīra Pāṇḍya. An epigraph states that Sundara Pāṇḍya instituted a service called after Muppiḍi Nāyaka in the temple at

1. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 64.

2. Khusrau: *Khaza-in-ul-Futuh*, J. I.M. ix, p. 74; Amir Khusru: *Tarikh-i-Alai*. Elliot & Dowson: *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 91.

3. M.E.R. 34 of 1911.

4. M.E.R. 34 of 1890; E.I. Vol. IV, pp. 145 ff.

5. M.E.R. 72 of 1918, M.E.R. 1909, pt. II, para 73 & 1918, pt. II, para 50.

Vriddhachalam[1]. A record of the Kākatīya Pratāparudra from Śrīrangam dated Ś 1239 (March 28, 1317 A.D.)[2] stated that one Dēvari Nāyaka defeated the five Pāṇḍyas and the Kēraḷa Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and others during his southern campaign and established Sundara Pāṇḍya at Vīradhāvaḷam. The Kākatīya intervention in Pāṇḍya affairs appears to have resulted in the control of the northern parts of the Pāṇḍya kindgom by the Kākatīyas for a short period as well as the subordination of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Within ten years of Malik Kafur's sack of Madurai Ma'bar was again the prey of plundering raids by Muslims. During the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah of Delhi (1316-20 A.D.), one Khusru Khan was sent to the south. Khusru subjected the northern parts of Ma'bar to his plundering raids[3] but his movements were hampered by rains. Further he seems to have contemplated treason. This was discovered and he was carried back to Delhi in fetters.

The Pāṇḍyas continued to rule in the Madurai country during the period of the Muslim raids and of the Sultanate. The series of attacks by foreign invaders one after another led to the rapid decline of the Pāṇḍya sovereignty.

1. M.E.R. 72 of 1918.

2. M.E.R. 29 of 1891; 79 of 1939; M.E.R. 1939, pt. II, para 8; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 430.

3. Barni gives the following account of Khusru's raid on Ma'bar: "When Khusru Khan marched from Deogir to Ma'bar it was seen that he acted in the same way as Malik Naib Kafur had done. The Rais of Ma'bar fled with their treasures and valuables; but about a hundred elephants, which had been left in two cities, fell into the hands of Khusru Khan. On his arriving in Ma'bar the rains came on, and he was compelled to remain. There was in Ma'bar a merchant, named Taki Khan, a Sunni by profession, who had acquired great wealth, which he had purified by paying the a lms prescribed by his religion. Relying on the fact of the invading army being Musulman, he did not flee. Khusru Khan who had nothing in his heart but rapacity and villainy, seized this Musulman, took his money from him by force and put him to death, declaring the money to belong to the treasury. Whilst he remained in Ma'bar he did nothing but plot with his confidants as to the best means of seizing and putting to death those nobles who supported the reigning dynasty." (Elliot and Dowson: *op. cit.* p. 219).

Though Madurai and its immediate environs appear to have been lost by the Pāṇḍyas at this time owing perhaps to the establishment of the Muslim Sultanate, they continued to rule in other parts of the Tamil country such as Pudukkōṭṭai, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput till about the end of the 14th c. A.D.

Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (acc. 1296 A.D.) survived the civil war with his brother Sundara Pāṇḍya and the troubles with the Muslim raids. He had a long regin of about 44 years[1] till 1342 A.D. His inscriptions are found in North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts[2]. He appears to have had the surnames *Raṇamukharāma*[3] and *Kaliyugarāma*[4]. A record calling the king as Iḷaiyāḷvān Vīra Pāṇḍya and mentioning his 27th regnal year (about 1322 A.D.)[5] refers to some *kalaham* or troubles that had occurred some time previously. The king's epigraphs from Tirupputtur refer to the Muhammadan occupation of the local temple and the reconsecration of images[6].

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the elder son of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I, ruled from 1303 A.D. to about 1319 A.D. His inscriptions are found in Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly districts[7]. He had the surname *Kōdaṇḍarāman*[8] and his natal star was *Puṣya*.

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1. M.E.R. 119 & 122 of 1908 of 44th year; 393 of 1906 of 4(5)th year ; 120 of 1908 of 46th or 49th year.

2. M.E.R. 87 of 1940 from North Arcot; 66, 104 of 1918, 416, 430 of 1921 from South Arcot; 42 to 50 of 1937 from Trichinopoly; 45 of 1906 from Tanjore; 119, 120, 122 of 1908 from Ramnad; & 49, 80 of 1927, and 52 of 1945 from Tinnevelly districts.

3. M.E.R. 104 of 1918.

4. M.E.R. 42 to 50 refer to the founding of the village "Kaliyugarama Caturvedimangalam" in the king's name.

5. M.E.R. 80 of 1927.

6. M.E.R. 119, 120 of 1908.

7. M.E.R. 189 of 1930, 94 of 1934 from Chingleput; 183, 189 of 1940 from North Arcot; 72,84, 175 of 1918, 517 of 1920,415 of 1921, 385 of 1938,93, 94 of 1944 from South Arcot; 18 to 21 of 1937, 175, 179,180, 184 of 1939 from Trichino poly; 320, 321, 323 of 1930 from Alagarkoyil in Madurai and 608 of 1915 from Tinnevelly districts.

8. ME.R. 84, 175 of 1918, 18 to 21 of 1937, 94 & 222 of 1944.

Some of the other Pāṇḍya rulers of this period were Māṟavarman Srīvallabha (acc. 1307 A.D.)[1], Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (1314-46. A.D.)[2], Jaṭāvarman Parākrama (1315 to about 1347 A.D.)[3], Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (1334-1380 A.D.)[4], Māṟavarman Parākrama (1335-52 A.D.)[5], Jaṭāvarman Parākrama (acc. about 1357 A.D.)[6], and Jaṭāvarman Parākrama (acc. 1367 A.D.)[7].

From about the end of the 14th c. A.D. the Pāṇḍyas began to lose their hold on the northern parts of the Tamil country. Kampaṇa's overthrow of the Muslim Sultanate and the rise to prominence of the erstwhile Pāṇḍya feudatories, the Bāṇādarāyas, appear to have forced the Pāṇḍyas to confine themselves to the more southerly regions of the Pāṇḍya country such as Tinnevelly. Here they continued to rule for a long time till about the middle of the 18th c. A.D.[8]

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1. M.E.R. 414 of 1921.

2. M.E.R. 391 of 1938 from South Arcot; 29 of 1913, 101 of 1938, 115, 116 of 1939 from Trichinopoly; 509, 510 of 1920, 73 of 1928 from Tanjore; 107 of 1916 from Ramnad; 412 to 415 of 1917 & 62A of 1927 from Tinnevelly districts. M.E.R. 29 of 1913 mentions the king's surname *Abhangarahuttaraya*.

3. M.E.R. 564 of 1921 from Tanjore and 487 of 1909, 15, 16, 39 of 1924, 527, 601 of 1926, 35, 43, 45 of 1932 from Ramnad districts, and I.P.S. 447 from Pudukkottai.

4. M.E.R. 92 of 1934 from Chingleput; 6 of 1922, 281, 282 of 1929, 72, 268 of 1935, 5 of 1936, 360 of 1938 from South Arcot; 51 to 53 of 1937 from Trichinopoly; 226 of 1939 from Tanjore and 64 of 1916 from Ramnad districts. M.E.R. 282 of 1929 mentions his surname *Kaliyugarama*. M.E.R. 92 of 1934 refers to a colony of settlers from the Pandya country at Sirudavur, a coastal town in Chingleput district.

5. M.E.R. 203 of 1941, 105, 141 of 1942 from North Arcot; 113 of 1900, 78 of 1918, 92, 94 to 96, 102 of 1936, 424 of 1938 from South Arcot, & 24, 33, 35 of 1913 from Trichinopoly districts and 187, 189 of 1937 from Villiyanur in former French India.

6. M.E.R. 30 of 1896, 12 of 1916.

7. M.E.R. 408 of 1918.

8. The history of these Later or Tinnevelly Pandyas forms a chapter by itself. Since their direct connection with the history of the city of Madurai is only of minor consequence their history is not dealt with here.

2. The Sultanate of Madurai

It was under the Tughlaks that Madurai came to be finally conquered by the Muslims and the Pāṇḍya country became one among the many provinces of the Delhi empire. With the aim of the systematic subjugation of the Hindu kingdoms of the south one after another, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak sent his son and heir Ulugh Khan to the south in 1321 A.D. In the course of his campaigns Ma'bar was conquered in 1323 A.D.[1] The ruling king Parākrama Pāṇḍya[2] (perhaps Jaṭāvarman Parākrama who ascended the throne in 1315 A.D.) was taken as a prisoner, to Delhi. From about 1323 to 1334 A.D. Madurai was a province of the empire of Delhi, along with the other kingdoms of the Deccan and South India. In the conquered provinces, the Delhi Sultan set up Muslim governors called *Naibs* or *Naib-Vazirs*, assisted by a staff of quasi-military officials. The capitals of provinces were in charge of *Kotwals*. The *Maduraittalavaralāṟu* says that during the period of three years from *Rudhrōdgari, Āvaṇi* to *Krōdhana* (1323 to about 1326 A.D.) the region from the Himalayas to Sētu was under Muslim sway and was a period of hostility without anyone gaining a clear ascendancy. Then two Muslim governors, both named Ulāpathi Khan, ruled at Madurai between 1326 and 1334 A.D. Their identity is not quite

1. The *Maduraittalavaralaru* and the *Pandyan Chronicle* state that in S. 1246 in the month of *Ani*, Adi Sultan and Maluk Nemiyan came from Delhi in the north and having captured and sent Valalvilitturangum Parakrama Pandya to Delhi, took possession of the *rajya*. The *Madurai Stanikar Varalaru* says that Adi Sultan and Maluk Nemiyan were the *Batcha vasal mantri*, thus indicating that they were the generals of the Delhi Sultan. The *Pandyan Chronicle* and the *Supplementary Manuscripts* assign the date of the conquest of Madurai to S. 1246 *Rudhirodgari* corresponding to 227th year of the *Kollam ajiñda* era. This works out correctly to 1323 A.D.

2. The Tamil chronicles like *Maduraittalavaralaru*, *Pandyan Chronicle* and *Madurai Sthanikar Varalaru* call this king "Valal Vilitturangum Parakrama Pandya". This is probably a corruption of the term "Valal vali tirandan" found in some epigraphs of this period. A coin called *Valal valitirandan Kulisai pon* (or *panam*) is mentioned in M.E.R. 255 of 1914 and I.P.S. 635, 638. M.E.R. 7 of 1915 in Tamil verse from the Madurai temple mentions a Pandya king Valudi with a surname *Valal vali tirandan*. From a Tamil inscription, in verse, of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I it may be inferred that this king had the surname "Valal vali tirandan" (*Sentamil*, Vol. iv, p. 493.)

clear[1]. The Tamil chronicles give the names of the Sultans who ruled during 48 years. There are differences between this list and the names occurring in other literary works and in epigraphs. For about ten years, till the founding of the Sultanate in about 1334-35 A.D., Madurai was directly under the rule of two Sultans of Delhi, *viz.*, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak and his son Mahammad bin Tughlak. Then six independent Sultans appear to have ruled for about 38 years[2].

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1. I.P.S. 670 from Panaiyur is dated in the ninth regnal year of one Muhammadi Surattan. Two records, one from Rangiam (I.P.S. 669) dated in 732 A.H. (1332 A.D.) and another from Iluppur (M.E.R. 297 of 1944) dated in the 745th year (1345 A.D.?) of an unspecified era, state that the ruler was one Adi Surattan. The two dates show that he might have had a reign of at least 13 years. The identity of this ruler among the available names of the Sultans of Madurai is not clear at present. The *Maduraittalavaralaru* mentions Adi Sultan and Maluk Nemiyan as the two generals who came from Delhi and conquered Madurai in 1323 A.D.

2. The *Maduraittalavaralaru* gives the following list of names:
Ulapatikhan — for six years from *Akṣaya* to *Prajōtpatti* (1326-31 A.D.);
Ulapatikhan Utasikku Aingurulan — 3 years from *Angīrasa* to *Bhava* (1332-34 A.D.)
His nephew Kutipatik (*Pandyan Chronicle* calls him Sudi) - *Yuva* to *Pramādi* (1335-39 A.D.),
Nakaladik—*Vikrama* to *Vijaya* (1340-53 A.D.) ;
Savadmalukkan Attumarukan - *Sarvajit* to *Vilambi* (1347-58 A.D.),
Pangatik Malukkan - *Vikāri* to *Sadhārana* (1359-70).
The *Pandyan Chronicle* also gives a similar list with a few minor variations.
Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (p. 363) gives the following list of eight names:
Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah - 1335 - 40 A.D.
Alauddin Udauji—1 year—1340-41 A.D.
Kutbuddin Firoz Shah - 40 days.
Ghiyasuddin Dhamagani—1340-1 to 1342 A.D.
Nasiruddin—1342 - ?
Adil Shah - A coin of his date 1356 has been found,
Fakruddin Mubarak Shah - c. 1359 - 1368 A.D.
Alauddin Sikandarc. 1368-1378. But his rule must have been purely nominal.
From the available evidences about six Sultans appear to have ruled from about 1334 A.D.
Dr. M. Venkataramanayya gives the following list of six Sultans (J.M.U. Vol. XI. p. 65):
Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah - 1334 - 39 A.D.
Alauddin Udaiji - 1339-40 A.D.
Qutubuddin - 1340 A.D.
Ghiyasuddin Damaghani - 1341- 43 A.D.
Nasiruddin 1343-52 A.D.
Gurbat Hasan Kangu - 1353 -71 A.D.

Ibn Batuta[1] says that under Mahammad bin Tughlak one Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah was appointed the governor of Ma'bar but as Isamy[2] states, he was most probably only the *kotwal* of the city of Madurai. Jalal-ud-din rebelled in 1334-35 A.D., murdered the Sultan's officers treacherously and became an independent ruler of Madurai[3]. Thus the Madurai Sultanate came into being, and from now on a number of successive Sultans ruled over Madurai, issuing coins of their own.

The Moor, Ibn Batuta, who visited Madurai in 1342 A.D., has left an account of the first decade of the history of the Sultanate[4]. Ibn Batuta says that Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah was assassinated in 1340 A.D. after a rule of five years[5], and was succeeded by one of his *amirs*, Ala-ud-din Udaiji who ruled for about a year and then was killed. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Qutb-ud-din who was put on the throne by the nobles, but since he proved unsatisfactory he was murdered after a brief rule of forty days. Then Ghiyas-ud-din Damaghani became Sultan (1341-43 A.D.). During his reign Ibn Batuta visited Madurai.

At this time the Hoysala Ballāla III invaded the Sultanate, defeated the Muslims near Kobban (Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam) and made them retreat to Madurai. Then he besieged the fort of Kobban for nearly six months. Finally Ghiyas-ud-din made a surprise attack on Ballāḷa, took him prisoner and cruelly put him to

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1. Elliot and Dowson: *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 618.

2. The *Futu-us-Salatin*, p. 449; J.M.U. Vol. XI, pp. 41-42.

3. Barni says that he was Saiyid Hasan, father of Ibrahim the purse bearer, and that he broke out into rebellion in Ma'bar, killed the nobles and seized upon the government (Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 243).

4. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 276-283; Elliot and Dowson: *op cit.*, p. 614 ff. Ibn Batuta was the son-in-law of Jalaluddin. In the course of his travels he stayed for sometime in Madurai and Madurai country.

5. Numismatic evidence confirms this since the last date furnished by the coins for his reign is 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D.), J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 673.

death[1], in 1342 A.D. Ibn Batuta was shocked at the atrocities committed during the Sultan's rule.

There was a severe epidemic in Madurai and Ghiyas-ud-din succumbed to it soon after Ibn Batuta's arrival. Ibn Batuta was himself attacked by the disease, but soon recovered. The Sultan was succeeded by his nephew Nasir-ud-din in 745 A.H.(1343-44_52?). Soon after his accession, Ibn Batuta left Ma'bar. There is no account available for the subsequent history of the Sultans of Madurai. Further, there is a break in the coinage of the Sultans of Madurai for about twelve years from 745 A.H. to 757 A.H.[2] Hence the history of the later Sultans is not very definite. It is said by Afif that when Feroz Shah became Sultan of Delhi he sent a *firman* to Ma'bar but Ma'bar was found to be without a ruler at that time. The people of Ma'bar proceeded to Daulatabad and chose one Qurbat Hasan Kangu as their king and brought him to Ma'bar[3]. But he was a base and unworthy ruler.

Meanwhile the Vijayanagara Empire had been founded in 1336 A.D. Its rulers began a steady contest against the Muslims in the Deccan and the south. Kumara Kampana, the son of Bukka I, the second ruler of the Vijayanagara dynasty, in the course of a series of campaigns, succeeded in the steady overthrow of the Muslims from north to south. Kampaṇa conquered Rajagambhira Rājya, the country of the Śampuvarāyas, in about 1362 A.D. A few years later Kampaṇa marched south, restored and

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1. Ibn Batuta says that Ballala was captured, strangled and flayed and his skin was stuffed with straw and hung up on the wall of Madurai. Ibn Batuta's account of Ballala's death in the course of a war against the Muslims is corroborated by the evidence on an inscription of 1342 A.D. which says that Ballāla was killed in the Turuka war at Ciracirāpalli (Trichinopoly); E.C. Vol. VI, kd. No. 75.

2. It must be remembered that one characteristic of the Muslim coinage, that is, the mention of the place of mintage is conspicuous by its absence in the so-called coins of the Sultans of Ma'bar. J.M.U., Vol. XII, p. 53.

3. J.M.U., Vol. XI, pp. 58-60, 62-65.

reconsecrated God Ranganātha in the temple at Śrīrangam[1]. Then he marched against Madurai, defeated and killed the Sultan[2], and freed Ma'bar from Muslim occupation[3], which had lasted for nearly half a century.

It is rather difficult to fix the exact date of Kampaṇa's invasion and conquest of Madurai. Most probably Kampaaṇ's southern campaigns started in about 1362 and were steadily continued till about 1378 A.D. when the Muslim power in the south was finally overthrown[4].

The vanquished Muslims appear to have made a fruitless appeal to Delhi for help[5].

Madurai had been under Muslim rule for nearly half a century. Ibn Batuta's account gives a rough idea of the misrule and maladministration of the Muslim rulers. Epigraphic evidence, though meagre, speaks of the suffering and distress in the country. The misrule of the Muslims is variously referred to in inscriptions

1. During the period of the Muslim invasions of the region about 1327 A.D. the images of God Ranganatha and his consorts had been secretly carried away from Srirangam by the priests to Tirupati, by way of Jyōtiṣkuḍi, Tirumālirunjōlai, Kolikkudu, and Punganur. *Madhuravijayam*, introd., pp. 12-25; Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. II, p. iii; S.K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 116.

2. The Sultan overthrown by Kampana was apparently Qurbat Hasan Kangu. Afif says "Bukkan, an enemy, who was on the frontiers of Ma'bar with a large army and powerful elephants, invaded Ma'bar and captured Qurbat Hasan Kangu alive, and after capturing him killed him." Afif: *The Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 262.

3. The overthrow of the Muslim Sultanate and the restoration of Hindu rule are referred to in Tamil chronicles like the *Maduraittalavaralaru*, *Madurai Sthanikar Varalaru*, the *Sritala* and many Telugu works like the *Jaiminibharatam* and the *Ramabhyudayam* as well as in the writings of Muslim historians like Afif. It also forms the subject of the *Madhuravijayam*, a Sanskrit poem in epic style, by Kumara Kampana's wife Ganga Devi.

4. M.E.R. 64 of 1916, whose date is now generally accepted as 1364 A.D., refers to Kampana's southern campaigns, the overthrow of the Muslims and the restoration of order. M.E.R. 106 & 111 of 1903, dated 1371 & 1374 A.D. are Kampana's epigraphs from Tiruppullani (Ramnad District).

5. Afif: *op. cit.* p. 262.

and chronicles as *tulukkāṇiyam, tulukkavāṇam* and *tulukkar kalaham*[1]. Gangādevi, in the *Madhurāvijayam*[2], vividly describes the effects of the Muslim invasion and occupation of the Tamil country. Vyāghrapuri (Cidambaram) became literally the place for tigers. The temple at Śrīrangam became so dilapidated that the image of God Ranganātha was protected by the hood of Ādiśēṣa alone. The shrine at Jambukēśvaram also was in a similar state. The coconut trees of Madurai had been cut down and in their places were erected *śūlas* (iron tridents) with garlands of human heads, resembling the coconut trees remotely. Ibn Batuta also confirms Gangādēvi's account of Madurai when he says that the Sultan of Madurai made the Hindu prisoners carry posts on which they were later impaled.

Social and economic life appear to have been greatly upset during the period of the Sultanate and the country was drained of its treasures and resources. A record[3], from Tirukkaḷākkuḍi dated 1364 A.D., refers to the disorder caused by the Muhammadans. It says that "The times were *Tulukkan* times, the *dēvadāna* lands of the gods were taxed with *kuḍimai*, the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the *uḻavu* or cultivation of the temple lands were done by turns by the tenants of the village". Further some of the temple lands had to be sold for the preservation of the original status of the temple.

Several epigraphs refer to the sale of *pāḍikāval* rights.[4] Very often the people had to make their own arrangements for protection.

Apart from the stray references by Ibn Batuta and Afif hardly anything is known of Madurai city during the period of the

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1. I.P.S. 454 & 669, M.E.R. 119 & 120 of 1908 and 64 of 1916 also refer to the occupation of the country by Muslims. M.E.R. 60 of 1916 dated 761 of an unspecified era (probably it refers to the Muhammadan era and corresponds to about 1361 A.D.) states that a number of Muslim generals were sent to destroy Suraikkudi.

2. Gangadevi: *Madhuravijayam*, G. Harihara Sastri and V. Srinivasa Sastri, ed. Trivandrum, 1916, p. 14.

3. M.E.R. 64 of 1916, Report, pt. II, para 33.

4. M.E.R. 293 of 1906, 122 of 1908, I.P.S. 454, 669.

Sultanate. Ibn Batuta says that Madurai was a large town with broad streets and that it was the Sultan's place of residence. He says that the first prince who made it his capital was his father-in-law, the Sultan Sharif Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah, who made it look like Delhi, building it with care[1]. He also mentions a river at a distance of one *parasang* on the banks of which was a Hindu temple. This is evidently a reference to the Vaigai.

It is interesting to note that Ibn Batuta mentions the use of the coins, *drachmas* and *dinars*. An epigraph mentions a *kaikkōḷa* of the Āvaṇavīdipperunteruvu at Madurai[2].

The Madurai Temple during the Muslim Rule

PRECAUTIONS TAKEN TO SAFEGUARD THE IDOLS : The Tamil chronicles indicate how the temple at Madurai suffered destruction under the Muslim rule. The *Madurai Sthānikar Varalāṟu*[3] gives the following account. In the month of *Āni* of Ś. 1245 (1323 A.D.) the Pādshah *vāśal mantri* Ādi Sultān and Malukka Nēmiyār came from Delhi with 60,000 horses, destroyed Śiva and Viṣṇu temples and tanks, plundered temple treasuries (*śrībhaṇḍāram*), mutilated images (*bimbam*) and reached Trichinopoly. There also the *sthānikas* were removed and temples were destroyed. Hearing these king Vāḷāl Viḻitturangum Parākrama Pāṇḍya was alarmed and left for the fort of Kāḷaiyārkōyil. Unable to stay in the city without the king's protection, the *sthānikas* of the temple of Madurai left the city after making certain provisions for the protection of the deity. They made a *kiḷikkūṇḍu* for the *Svāmi* in the *garbhagriha*, raised earth mounds, blocked the *garbhagriha* entrance with a stone wall and set up another *Linga* in the *ardha maṇḍapa*. They did *aṣṭabhandana* for the Goddess (Mūlappērnācciyār) and set up the Goddess on the upper storey of the *vimāna*. They did *pūpadanam* (buried in the ground) for the *utsava vigrahas*, Iḷaiya Nāyinār and other *vigrahas* near the Mucukundīśvaramuḍaiyār[4] shrine. The Śōḻiya, Kulaśēkharapperumāl, who was formerly

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1. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 281.
2. M.E.R. 360 of 1938.
3. *Sentamil*, Vol. V, p. 141 ff.
4. The whereabouts of this shrine is not traceable. Most probably it was one of the sub-shrines in the temple itself whose identity is now lost.

doing *pūja* in the Kariyamāṇikka Perumāḷ Temple, was left in charge of the Madurai temple and the conduct of its worship. Then taking the gold *vigraha* of the God and a few other gold *vigrahas*, the *sthānikas* left Madurai and reached the Kilukiluppai forest in Nānjilnāḍu.

DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE: Tamil chronicles relate how the temple structures and the temple worship suffered during the Muslim regime. According to the account in the *Maduraittalavaralāru* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*, the 14 *gōpuras* of the temple, the *Pañcākṣara tirumadil* and the streets within were destroyed and the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhmaṇḍapa* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* escaped the fury of the Muslims[1].

While the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* and the *Maduraittalavaralāṛu* merely state that the sanctum and its adjuncts escaped destruction, the *Madurai Sthānīkar Varalāru* attempts to give an explanation as to why the sanctum was saved. The story, according to this chronicle, is that the invaders when told the legend about feeding the stone elephant, wanted to test the fact themselves and when they found that the stone elephant did eat the sugarcane offered by them they thought that their own God resided in the shrine and that therefore it must be saved. Whether the story is true or not, the vestiges of older structure still surviving in the *garbhagriha* would indicate that not much damage was done to it.

RESTORATION OF WORSHIP BY KAMPANA: According to the *Maduraittalavaralāṛu* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*, the Mysore general Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, after driving away the Muslim invaders, restored the worship in the Madurai temple, after purificatory ceremonies[2].

All the accounts mention that when the blocked up doorway was opened and the earth which was covering the deity was removed

1. *The Supplementary Manuscripts* state that the west *Gopura* and the *Sannidhi Gopura* also escaped destruction.

2. M.E.R. 64 of 1916 from Tirukkalakkudi states that Kampana Udaiyar destroyed the Muslim power, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many cheifs (*nayakkanmārs*) for inspection and supervision so that regular worship in all the temples might be restored.

Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār was surprised to find the lamps still burning and the flowers of the deity still fresh as they would be when the daily *pūja* is commenced every morning.

B. Vijayanagara Viceroys

Kampana's overthrow of the Madurai Sultanate was completed in about 1371 A.D. From then onwards up to the latter half of the 16th c. A.D. the Madurai country came under the Vijayanagar Empire and was ruled by viceroys appointed by the imperial Government. The early viceroys were members of the Vijayanagara royal family, as, for instance, Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka, and Virūpākṣa, son of Harihara II. These royal viceroys took the title of *oḍeya* or *uḍaiyār*. The practice of appointing princes of the royal family as viceroys of the provinces was followed by the kings of the Araviḍu dynasty also. For instance, Venkaṭa II, the fourth son of Tirumala, was the viceroy of the Tuṇḍirāḷ Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries with his headquarters at Candragiri[1]. But the Saluvas and the Tuḷuvas did not follow this practice. Instead, experienced and distinguished officers were appointed as the provincial governors, who were generally designated by the term *daṇḍanāyakas*. Their status and position appear to have been the same as those of the royal viceroys. Lakkaṇṇa was one of the most eminent of the *daṇḍanāyakas*.

Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār was the first viceroy of the south and was a powerful ruler. Epigraphs of the period, the vernacular chronicles and works as well as the Muslim historians describe the restoration of Hindu rule in Madurai and Kampana's attempts to bring back order and stability in the administration.

Kampaṇa's epigraphs in about 1371 A.D. are found in Chingleput, North Arcot and Ramnad[2] and show that he was practically master of the whole of South India by this time. Kampaṇa died in 1374 A.D. and his son Jammaṇa or Empaṇa[3], succeeded him

1. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 302.

2. M.E.R. 511 of 1913 from Chingleput, 293 of 1895 from North Arcot, and 106, 111 of 1903 from Ramnad; M.E.R. 114 of 1903 dated 1374 A.D. is from Tiruppullani in Ramnad.

3. M.E.R. 573 of 1902, S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 164.

as viceroy. It is not known how long he ruled. The *Maduraittala-varalaru* says that Kampaṇa and his son Empaṇa Uḍaiyār and his nephew (*marumagan*) Poṛkāśuḍaiyār[1], ruled for a period of 33 years from the year *Virōdhikṛt* to the year *Citrabhānu* (1371-1402 A.D.).

In about 1385 A.D. Vijayanagar seems to have been losing control over the Madurai country. Hence Harihara II appointed his own sons to govern the various parts of the empire, so that there could be stricter control and more efficient administration. One of his sons, Virūpākṣa, was appointed as the governor of the Tamil districts. He is credited with the conquest of Ceylon[2]. In the Sanskrit drama, *Nārāyaṇivilāsam*, written by Virūpākṣa, the author calls himself the governor of the Karnāṭa, Tuṇḍīra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya *maṇḍalas* and claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Simhaḷa (Ceylon)[3].

Some time later, during the reign of Dēvarāya II (1422-46 A.D.), his minister Lakkaṇṇa became the viceroy of the Madurai country. According to the *Maduraittalavaralāṛu* and the *Madurai Sthānikar Varalāru*, Madurai was ruled by Lakkaṇṇa and his brother Mādaṇṇa for 48 years from Ś 1327 to 1375 (1405-1453 A.D.). The earliest record of Lakkaṇṇa found in the Madurai country is dated Ś 1360 (1438 A.D.) and is from Ramnad[4]. Lakkaṇṇa is said to have led a victorious expedition to Ceylon in about 1435 A.D.[5] He ruled over the Madurai province with the title "*Dakṣiṇasamud-r-ādhipati*" ("Lord of the Southern Ocean")[6].

It is not clear what happened after Lakkaṇṇa's governorship of Madurai was over. Very likely the province of Madurai was reorganised by Lakkaṇṇa. The Pāṇḍya feudatories, the Bāṇādarāyas, seem to have been put in charge of the administration of

1. The identity of Porkasudaiyar is not clear. Virupakṣa was a nephew of Kampana and was a governor of the Madurai country. It is not known whether Virupakṣa also had the name Porkasudaiyar.

2. E.I., Vol. III, pp. 227, 228; H.W. Codrington: *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 84-85.

3. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

4. M.E.R. 141 of 1903.

5. S.I.I. Vol. VII, No. 778.

6. M.E.R. 128 of 1901, 141 of 1903, 567 of 1904, 100 of 1911.

the Madurai country by the Vijaynagara viceroy, in the course of his provincial reorganisation[1]. The Madurai chronicles state that the Bāṇādarāyas were illegitimate sons of the Pāṇḍyas by a dancing girl Abirāmi of Kālaiyārkōyil and that they were brought over to Madurai by Lakkaṇṇa and vested with royal power. From about 1450 to 1500 A.D., Vijayanagara inscriptions do not occur in the Madurai region. Inscriptions of the period show the Bāṇādarāyas ruling in the Madurai, Ramnad region and the Pāṇḍyas in the Tinnevelly areas.

Towards the close of the 15th c. there appears to have been another attempt to bring the southern regions under stricter control of Vijayanagar. Narasa Nāyaka, the powerful minister of Immaḍi Narasimha and father of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, was the virtual sovereign of the country. He undertook an extensive southern campaign. During the course of this campaign he is said to have conquered the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Cēra and taken the city of Madurai[2]. While all accounts state that he took the city of Madurai there is no agreement regarding the ruler of Madurai. The *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* says that Narasa killed the Cōḷa and took Madurai. The *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* says that he killed the Marava and captured Madurai while the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* says that when Narasa Nāyaka entered Madurai he was received by the ruler with gift and presents[3]. According to epigraphical evidence Narasa defeated Mānabhūṣa, the king of Madurai[4]. But the texts of the verses containing the reference to Mānabhūṣa seem to imply that Manabhūṣa was neither a Cōḷa or Cēra nor a Pāṇḍya but someone other than these three. Probably he has to be considered for the present as an unidentified chief who had control over Madurai. In Ś 1410 (1488 A.D.) a Mahābali-Vāṇādaraya was ruling in Madurai[5]. It is not clear whether he continued to rule here for about

1. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.* p. 10.
2. Dr. S.K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 108, 170-71.
3. During the 15th to 17th cs. the names Cola and Pandya seem to have been used rather indiscriminately. *Vide* Dr. N. Venkataramanayya : *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, p. 169, n.
4. E.C., Vol. VIII, Nr. 64. "Ceram Colam ca Pandyam tam api ca Madhurā vallabham Mānabhūṣam", Kṛṣṇāpuram plates of Sadasivaraya. E.I. Vol. IX, pp. 330-40. Udayambākkam grant of Kṛṣṇadēvārāya. E.I. Vol. XIV, pp. 171-175.
5. M.E.R. 44 of 1908.

ten years more till the advent of Narasā or whether he was dislodged by some chief from other regions. Nor is it clear whether the term Mānabhūṣa, being a general title for the Pāṇḍyas, may be taken to apply to the Bāṇādarāya ruler in the sense that he was ruling over the Pāṇḍya country and thus was entitled to the Pāṇḍya titles.[1]

The Pāṇḍya king said to have been defeated by Narasa may have been one of the rulers of Tenkāśi, perhaps Jatilavarman Parākrama Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya who ruled from 1479-1499 A.D.[2].

The probable date of Narasa's attack upon Madurai was about 1496-97 A.D. An inscription dated 18th March 1497 A.D. states that Immaḍi Kācappa Nāyaka had gone to Sethubandha-Rāmēśvaram with Narasa Nayaka[3]. The *Maduraittalavaralāṛu* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* provide a confirmation very closely to this date by saying that in *Vaikāsi* of Ś. 1422 (1497 A.D.) Narasaiyya Nayakkar (or Narasā Nāyakkar) went and offered worship at Rāmēśvaram and also captured the fort of Madurai. An epigraph dated Ś. 1420 (1498 A.D.) mentions the collection of tribute for payment to "the Rāya who took Madura". This is evidently a reference to Immaḍi Narasimha in whose name Narasa conquered the southern regions[4]. Following the southern conquests a series of inscriptions of Immaḍi Narasimha, beginning with Ś. 1421 *Siddhārthi* (1499 A.D.) appear in the Madurai and Ramnad districts[5].

The Sāḷuva rule in the Madurai country appears to have been a period of great oppression and heavy taxation. An epigraph[6] of Ś. 1423 (1501 A.D.) from Tirukkaḷākkuḍi in Ramnad district says

1. Arikesari Parakrama Pandya (1422-63 A.D.), the Tenkasi Pandya ruler who had the titles of Manabhuṣana, Manabharana and Manakavaca is identified with Manabhuṣana who was defeated by Narasa. This identification does not seem to be correct owing to the interval of nearly 30 years between the end of his reign and Narasa's attack upon Madurai.

2. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 247.

3. M.E.R. 719 of 1917.

4. M.E.R. 211 of 1942.

5. M.E.R. 89 of 1908 (S. 1421), 139, 151 of 1903, 213 of 1924 (all dated S 1422), 47 of 1916 (S 1424).

6. M.E.R. 50 of 1916.

that it was the period of occupation by the Kannaḍagas (Karnāṭakas) and says that the farmers were so harassed by the heavy taxation imposed upon them that they had to sell their lands in order to pay the taxes and had to leave their homes.

During the first half of the 16th c. epigraphs of the Bāṇādarāyas occur side by side with records of various Vijayanagara officers in the Madurai country. The Tamil chronicles mention a list of Vijayanagara officers who ruled over Madurai from about 1497 to 1559 A.D., the period when Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, Acyuta and others also ruled in Vijayanagar. A number of these names may be recognised in the epigraphs of the period. But apart from the meagre information supplied by these epigraphs, not much is known about them.

The *Maduraittalavaralāṟu*[1] says that the Nāyaka governors of Madurai were Tenna Nāyakkar (1500-1512 A.D.), Nācciappa Piḷḷai (1513-1517 A.D.), Kūrukūr Timmappa Nāyakkar (1517-1521 A.D.), Kaṭṭiyam Kāmaiyya Nāyakkar (1521-23 A.D.), Cinnappa Nāyakkar (1524-27 A.D.), Īyakkarai Veiyappa Nāyakkar (1527-32 A.D.), Viśvanāyakkaraiyan (1533-42 A.D.), Varada Mannargaḷ (1542-44 A.D.), Viśvanātha Nāyakkaraiyan (1544-45 A.D.), Viṭṭilūr Rāja (Viṭṭhala Rāja) (1546-57 A.D.)[2], and Timmappa Nāyakkar, Cellappa Nāyakkar and Paṭṭukkōṭṭai Vīrappa Nāyakkar (1558-60 A.D.).

Two records of 1516 A.D. and 1519 A.D.[3] mention Rāyarvāśal Timmappa Nāyaka as the administrator (*karttar*) of Madurai. These are evidently references to Kūrukūru Timmappa (1517-21 A.D.) mentioned in the chronicles. In 1522 A.D. Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasa made the gift of a village in Dāḍikkombu in the Dindigul Taluk.[4] The Cinnappa Nāyaka (1524-27 A.D.) of the chronicles figures in a record of 1526 A.D.[5] from Tiruvēḍagam, near Madurai, and is mentioned as the king's *vāśal kāriyam* in the reign of Acyuta.[6]

1. *The Pandyan Chronicle* and the *Madurai Sthanikar Varalaru* give a similar list with a few minor variations.

2. This is a reference to Ramaraja Vitthala who was in charge of the southern districts during the reign of Sadasiva.

3. M.E.R. 455 of 1906 from Anaimalai; 447 of 1924.

4. M.E.R. 4 of 1894.

5. M.E.R. 677 of 1905.

6. M.E.R. 33 of 1929.

Viśvanāyakkaraiyan (1533-42 A.D.) (also called Viśvanātha Nāyaka) and Viśvanātha Nāyakkaraiyan (1544-45 A.D.) mentioned in the chronicles were evidently Viśvanātha Nāyaka, son of Kōṭiyam Nāgama Nāyaka. For a brief interlude of two years, 1542-44 A.D., the chronicles state that Varada Mannargaḷ governed the Madurai country. During this period Viśvanātha Nāyaka was probably transferred to another region. An epigraph from Śrīrangam dated Ś. 1461 refers to Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Tirucināpalli Cāvaḍi[1]. A record from Aḻagarkōyil, dated Ś. 1464 (1542 A.D.) mentions an order communicated by Vāraṇāsi Varadappa Aṇṇarayyan who is called the '*kumāra*' of Acyutadēva Mahārāya. This is probably a reference to the Varada Mannargal of the chronicles. It is not clear whether he was related to Acyuta or whether '*kumāra*' was merely an endearing term.

When Kṛṣṇadēvarāya died in 1530 A.D. his brother and successor Acyuta had to face a formidable rebellion in the empire[2], one direct result of which was the establishment of the Nāyaka dynasty at Madurai. Sāḷuva Vīra Narasimha *alias* Cellappa[3] was a powrful viceroy in the south[4] during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign. He allied with Tumbicci Nāyaka of Paramakuḍi and the Tiruvaḍi king of Vēṇāḍ (Travancore), Udayamārttāṇḍa and rose in rebellion and tried to drive out the Tenkāśi Pāṇḍya ruler Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha. Acyutarāya sent an army commanded by his brother-in-law Salakaraju Tirumala to put down the rebels. The army progressed upto the banks of the Tāmbraparṇi where a pillar of victory was set up after crushing the rebels. Acyuta restored the Pāṇḍya to his kingdom and accepted his daughter as his bride. Sāḷuva Vīra Narasimha

1. M.E.R. 264 of 1930.

2. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 22 ff. for details of Acyuta's southern campaigns.

3. M.E.R. 91 and 92 of 1908 from Ramnad; 399 of 1906 from Pudukkottai.

4. M.E.R. 91 and 92 of 1908 dated S. 1432 and 1433 from Tirupputtur (Ramnad District) record gifts and villages to a temple "for the merit of Cellappa *alias* Vira Narasimha"; Nuniz and Rajanatha Dindima state that Saluva Nayaka *alias* Sellappa was the governor of the Cola and the Pandya countries during the reign of Kṛṣṇaraya and that he continued to hold this post even after Acyuta's accession; *Vide* Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, App. B., pp. 453-61.

and his allies were captured and brought as prisoners to the king's camp at Śrīrangam. Sāḷuva Narasimha and Tumbicci Nāyaka were probably pardoned. The events probably took place in about 1532 A.D. or a little earlier since a number of epigraphs dated Ś 1454 (1532 A.D.) refer to Acyuta's victories[1].

Soon after Sadāśiva's coronation in 1543 A.D. an expedition was sent against the extreme south, under Cina Timma, the cousin of Rāmarāja who had raised Sadāśiva to the throne and was the *de facto* ruler. A powerful personality who helped Cina Timma in his victorious southern campaigns was his brother Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala. Vitthala was then left in charge of the southern region of the empire. In the later Vijayanagar period, while provinces were given internal autonomy, the independence of the Nāyakas or provincial governors appears to have been kept under check by 'Special Commissioners'[2]. Side by side with Viśvanātha, the Nāyaka of Madurai, Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala seems to have been appointed 'special commissioner' in the same locality. He styled himself a *Rājādhirāja* and a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*[3]. Numerous epigraphs of his occur in the Madurai region[4]. Besides succeeding in his expedition against the Tiruvaḍi country he also put an end to certain troubles on the fishery coast. Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala had very wide powers and he enforced the imperial sway over the whole of South India. During the time of Tirumala, Prince Venkaṭa appears to have been another "Special Commissioner" over the Tuṇḍīra (Jiñji), Cōḷa (Tanjore) and Pāṇḍya (Madurai) countries with his capital at Candragiri.

C. The Banadarayas in Madurai

The Bāṇas or Bāṇādarāyas were a family of feudatories who figure as chieftains under one South Indian power after another. Starting as a political power in the 4th c. A.D., they served as feudatories successively under the Satavāhanas, the Kaḍambas of Banavāsi,

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1. M.E.R. 50 of 1900, 157, 158 of 1924.
2. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam: *Administration & Social Life under Vijayanagar*, pp. 202-203.
3. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 247.
4. M.E.R. 510 of 1907, 385, 573, 718 of 1916, 93 of 1929, 1 of 1932, 268 of 1942,

he Cāḷūkyas of Vātāpi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed, the Pallavas of Kāñci, and the Cōḷas, and later on, under the Pāṇdyas and Vijayanagara kings[1]. They appear to have tried to set up independent rule whenever the political situation afforded them a chance.

The Banas appear to have been a small tribe whose early home was in the area round about the modern Kolar and Kurnool districts during the early centuries of the Christian era. They first served as the feudatories of the Satavāhanas and the early Pallavas.

The Bāṇas gradually and steadily migrated southwards through the centuries. When the Cāḷukyas expanded their power in the 7th c. A.D., the Bāṇas were forced to move south. They migrated and settled down in the region of the Pālār basin with Tiruvallam as their new capital. This area covered the western part of the Chittoor district, and the north-west part of the North Arcot district and was called Perumbāṇappāḍi in Tamil epigraphs or Vaḍugavaḻi One Thousand Two Hundred. Between the 8th and 10th cs. A.D., the Bāṇas appear to have changed their allegiance often, between the Gangas or Pallavas, or Rāṣṭrakūṭas, according to the exigencies of the time. After the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam (c. 880 A.D.), when Pallava power was weakening, the Bāṇas tried to set up independent rule. But the Bāṇa independence was short lived since the Cōḷa Parāntaka I conquered Perumbāṇappāḍi by about 915 A.D.[2] As a result one branch of the Bāṇas migrated to the north to the present Guntur and Krishna districts. Another branch accepted Cōḷa overlordship and served as loyal feudatories. They moved to the south and settled in the region of the South Peṇṇār river. This area came to be called Vānagōppāḍi Magadaimaṇḍalam and Magarājya and appears to have included parts of the modern South Arcot, Salem and Trichinopoly districts.[3]

In the course of the 13th c. when Cōḷa power declined, the Bāṇas became the feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas and settled down in the modern Trichinopoly and Madurai districts. The Bāṇas held various offices under the mediaeval Pāṇḍays and bore their titles and names.

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1. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam : *The Banas in South Indian History*. Journal of Indian History, Vol. 29, pp. 153-54.

2. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-80.

3. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-91.

Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1216 A.D.) appears to have been helped by a Bāṇa chieftain during his campaigns against the Cōḷa Kulōttunga III in about 1216-17 A.D. It was perhaps as a reward for this help that he gave a part of the Cōḷa country to the Bāṇa.[1] Under Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, Sundara Pāṇḍya Vāṇādarāyan figures as an officer.[2] A record of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II mentions a Śivalavan Maduraipperumāḷ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyan of Irāśarāśapuram in Kongu maṇḍalam.[3] In a record of Vikrama Pāṇḍya[4] a Mahabali Vanarayar is referred to as the king's *mudali*. Vāṇādarāyas figure in the reign of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and Jaṭāvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya[5] both of whom refer to the Hoysala Sōmēśvara as their uncle *māmaḍi*.

In the 21st year (1274 A.D.) of Jaṭāvarman Vira Pāṇḍya the officers of a Māvali Vāṇādarāya are stated to have attacked Marava Madurai and led away the livestock.[6] In the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I a Piḷḷai Mahābali Vāṇarāyar was the governor of Kōnāḍu[7]. He was perhaps also called Piḷḷai Kulaśekhara.[8]

Some of the Pāṇḍya kings speak of their Bāṇa feudatories in endearing terms like *piḷḷai* and *makkaḷ*.[9] Often the names of the kings were also attached to those of the chieftains. Thus they were called Sundara Pāṇḍya Vāṇādarāyar, Parākrama Pāṇḍya Mahābali Vāṇādarāyar and so on. From some of their epigraphs it may be surmised that the Vāṇādarāyas had dynastic connections with the Pāṇḍyas. Hence the terms *piḷḷai* and *makkaḷ* applied to them may not always mean mere terms of endearment. Four records of Jaṭāvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya[10] mentioned above, refer to the throne

1. M.E.R. 481 of 1908 and 196 of 1939. The latter calls the Bana chief the "*Magadarkon*". This shows that the Banas hailed from Mgadai country.
2. M.E.R. 125 of 1894.
3. M.E.R. 312 of 1928.
4. M.E.R. 436 of 1938.
5. M.E.R. 312 of 1928, 187-91 and 194 of 1944.
6. I.P.S. 380.
7. I.P.S. 375.
8. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 299.
9. M.E.R. 430 of 1907, 58 and 104 of 1916.
10. M.E.R. 188-191 of 1944.

Vāṇādarāyan and a royal order made at the instance of Aṇṇan Vāṇādarāyar. In two records[1] of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, one Aruḷāḷan Śēvagattēvan *alias* Vāṇādhirāyar of Taccanūr is styled the king's *ammān* and is stated to have carried out many repairs to the Madurai temple. These records state that he granted a village for offerings to God Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyār during the service instituted by him in the temple and for feeding *Paradēśikkōvaṇavār* reciting the *Tiruvembāvai* in *Śādārippaṇ* in the month of *Mārgaḷi* while the deity halted at the Vāṇādarāyar *vāśal* (entrance) to the south of the shrine of the Goddess.

Mahābali Vāṇādarāyar referred to in a third record of the same king, is evidently the same person.[2] Thus under the mediaeval Pāṇḍyas the Bāṇādarāyas often occupied positions of prominence.

In the latter half of the 15th c. A.D. during the Vijayanagar viceroyalty, many Bāṇādarāya chieftains are found to be ruling over the Madurai region, perhaps as Vijayanagara feudatories. It is not known why or how exactly they happened to be ruling over Madurai at that time. A probable explanation has been attempted earlier in this chapter. The *Maduraittalavaralāṟu* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* give the names of the persons brought over by Lakkaṇṇa from Kāḷaiyārkōyil to rule over Madurai. They were Sundarattōḷ Māvali Vāṇādirāyar[3], Kāḷaiyār Sōmanār, Añjāda Perumāḷ, Muttaraśar and Tirumalai Māvali Vāṇādirāyar. They are stated to have ruled for 48 years from *Śukla* (S. 1374) to *Naḷa* (1452-1500 A.D.).

In epigraphs of the period there are references to some of the Bāṇādarāya rulers and their activities. A Tirumāliruñjōlaininṛān *alias* Māvali Vāṇādarāyan was called the Madhurāpuri Mahānāyakan and in S. 1350 was a subordinate of the Vijayanagara king "..who witnessed the elephant hunt" (probably Dēvarāya II)[4].

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1. M.E.R. 187, 192 of 1944.

2. M.E.R. 194 of 1944.

3. The *Madurai Sthanikar Varalaru* says that Abhirami had six sons and that Sundara Mavali Vanadarayar was the eldest.

4. M.E.R. 574 of 1926; M.E.R. 1927, pt. II, para 91.

In 1453 A.D. Uṟangāvillidāsan *alias* Mahābali Vāṇādarāyar was ruling in the Madurai country[1]. He seems to have had the name Tirumāliruñjōlaininṟān also since epigraphs call him Tirumāliruñjōlaininrān Māvalivāṇādarāyan *alias* Urangāvillidāsan[2] or Tirumāliruñjōlaininṟān Māvalivāṇādarāyan Uṟangāvillidāsan.[3] His inscriptions range from Ś. 1375 (1453 A.D.) to Ś. 1399 (1477 A.D.)[4] His consort was Śrīraṅga Nāyaki[5].

He appears to have been a powerful ruler. During the days of the Vijayanagara emperors Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa Rāya (1447-85 A.D.) the imperial government was weak. Taking advantage of the political situation the Bāṇa ruler (or his son Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān) seems to have risen against the imperial authorities, marched as far north as Kāñci and occupied the city for a brief period. Soon, within a few years, he was beaten back by Sāḷuva Narasimha[6].

Two records from Kāñci bear testimony to the Bāṇa occupation of the city. One of them dated Ś. 1391 (1469 A.D.)[7] in which the ruler is styled "Bhuvanēkavīran Samarakōlāhalan", registers the grant of two villages named Samarakōlāhalanallūr and Bhuvanaikavīranallūr in the Pāṇḍya country to the temples of Ēkāmranātha and Kāmākṣi at Kāñci. The other epigraph[8] in Tamil verse is in praise of Māvilivāṇan and seems to refer to the defeat of Vaḷudi (Pāṇḍya).

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1. M.E.R. 577 of 1926; T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 53.

2. An epigraph dated 1457 A.D. recently copied in Puliyangulam.

3. M.E.R. 307 of 1930; M.E.R. 219 of 1939 from Alagarkoyil giving the name Tirumalirunjolaininran Mahavalivanadarayar Urangavillidasan *alias* Samarakolahalan evidently belongs to this ruler.

4. M.E.R. 577 and 578 of 1926; 306 and 307 of 1930; S.I.T.I., Vol. I, Nos. 138-40.

5. M.E.R. 573 of 1926.

6. Vijayanagara records dated 1471 and 1472 at Kanci show the restoration of the imperial hold over the place; 39 of 1890, 9 of 1911, 613 of 1919 etc.

7. M.E.R. 25 of 1890; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 348.

8. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 348A.

The emblem of the Bāṇas appears to have been that of the *Garuḍa* as may be inferred from their title *Garuḍakētana*. The coins with the legends *Samarakōlāhalan* and *Bhuvanaikaviran* on the reverse and the figure of a *garuḍa* kneeling on a fish (the Pāṇḍya emblem) evidently belong to the Bāṇādarāyas and were probably issued in commemoration of their success over the Pāṇḍyas.

The Bāṇas assumed many titles such as "Bhuvanēkavīran", "Samarakōlāhalan", "Vēdiyar Kāvalan", "Vīra Kañcukan"[1], "Sārvabhauma," "Mūvarāyaragaṇḍan", "Rājamisaragaṇḍan", "Bhūpālagōpālan" and so on.

God Aḻagar of Tīrumāliruñjōlai was the tutelary deity of the Bāṇādarāyas. Aḻagarkōyil was most probably their political capital. They made numerous benefactions to the temples at Aḻagarkōyil and Śrīvilliputtūr. They had also the *Garuḍa* banner and *Aḻagar Tiruvullam* was their sign manual[2]. These would indicate that they were ardent Vaiṣṇavas. But their religious toleration is also shown by the fact that they extended their benefactions to the great temple at Madurai also.

The Bāṇas continued to rule in the Madurai region under Vijayanagara overlordship till about the founding of the Nāyaka dynasty at Madurai.

Tirumāliruñjōlaininrān was succeeded by his son Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān Māvalivāṇādarāyar.[3] A record of Ś. 1438 (1516 A.D.)[4] mentions Sundarattōḷuḍaiyār *alias* Iṟandakālameḍutta Māvalivāṇādarāyar. It is not clear whether this has also to be assigned to the ruler mentioned above. At a slightly later period there is mention of another ruler called Sundarattōḷudaiyār whose epigraphs are found from Ś. 1452 (1530 A.D.) to Ś. 1458 (1535 A.D.)[5].

1. All these titles are attributed to a Virapratapa Sundarattoludaiyan Mahabali Vanadhiraja, in a record dated 1483 A.D. from Nekkonam in Pudukkottai.

2. M.E.R. 25 of 1890; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 348. The Tirumalirunjolai Alagar seems to have been the family deity of the Banadarayas.

3. M.E.R. 573 of 1926; M.E.R. 44 of 1908 dated S. 1410 mentions Timmacci Nāyakar, a feudatory of Mahābalivāṇādirāja. The identity of this Bana ruler is not clear.

4. M.E.R. 447 of 1924.

5. M.E.R. 582, 585, 587, 588A of 1902; 109, 113, 121 of 1903; 451 of 1924.

With the rise of the Nāyakas of Madurai the Bāṇādarāyas declined in power probably due to defeats they might have sustained at the hands of the Madurai Nāyakas[1] or possibly due to failure of heirs in the direct line. During the Nāyaka regime the Bāṇas appear to have made attempts from time to time to reassert their power.[2] Inscriptions of the Bāṇādarāyas continue to occur in the Madurai country as late as 1606 A.D.[3].

1. The Padmaneri grant says that Visvanatha Nayaka defeated a Vanadaraya.

2. Virappa Nayaka (1572-95 A.D.) is stated to have crushed the rebellion of a Mavali Vanadaraya who had fortified Manamadurai and Kalaiyarkoyil, and to have confiscated his *palaiyams*; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIV, p. 91; R. Sathianatha Aiyar: *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 79; M.E.R. 1910, para 33.

3. M.E.R. 54 of 1926, 91 of 1929. I.P.S. 758 dated 1577 A.D. refers to a Suraikkudi chief entertaining Mavali.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NAYAKAS OF MADURAI

A. Political History

From about the middle of the 16th c. A.D. the *nāyankara* system became a prominent feature of the Vijayanagara provincial organisation. Under this system the king was regarded as the owner of the soil and he distributed lands to his dependents, who were called *Nāyakas*. The Nāyakas ruled over their territories with a great measure of freedom. In return they paid a fixed annual contribution to the imperial government and maintained a sufficient number of troops, and helped the king in his wars. In course of time the Nāyakaship became hereditary when the central control grew weak and inefficient. The Nāyakas of Madurai, Tanjore and Jinji started as the subordinates of Vijayanagar and soon rose to great prominence.

Visvanatha Nayaka, the son of Kotiyam Nāgama Nāyaka, has been credited with the founding of the Nāyaka dynasty of Madurai. From that time the fortunes of Madurai revived again and for nearly two centuries a period of peace and prosperity under the Nāyaka administration was established. After the fall of Vijayanagar the Nāyakas of Madurai tried to protect Hindu independence against the Muhammadans. Administration was improved and a system of feudal service was regularised. There was much building activity in erecting temples and palaces throughout the Madurai country. Artisans and craftsmen found royal patronage everywhere. The literature and art of the period was marked by a synthesis of the two great Dravidian cultures, Tamil and Telugu. This was equally noticeable in the social life of the two peoples who were not brought together under Telugu domination. The rulers, though most of them were Vaiṣṇavas themselves, maintained a certain amount of impartiality and gave their benefactions to Śiva and Viṇṣu temples alike.

The popular version of the origin of the Nāyaka dynasty in Madurai centres round a quarrel between Vīrasēkhara Cōḷa and Candraśēkhara Pāṇḍya. The latter appealed to Kṛṣṇadeva Raya for help. It is stated that Nāgama Nāyaka was sent by the Vijayanagara ruler to the south to help restore the Pāṇḍya ruler. Nāgama restored order but not the Pāṇḍya. When Nāgama disobeyed

Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's orders to restore the Pāṇḍya king, Visvanātha Nāyaka, the son of Nāgama, was sent by the Rāya to bring back Nagama alive or dead and restore the Pandya ruler. Visvanatha defeated his own father and was made, according to pcpul:r version again, the vicerory of the south by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. After sometime, the Pāṇḍya ruler having died without a legitimate heir, Visvanātha Nāyaka became the sole ruler of the southern country and thus founded the Nayaka dynasty. This version with minor variations given by the vernacular chronicles, such as the *Tanjāvūri Āndhra Rājula Caritra*, is a legendary account drawn up probably on the basis of a few historical incidents. At present one is not able to test the truth of the accounts of the chronicles since other corroboratory sources of information are not available.

Visvanātha Nāyaka was the son of Kōṭiyam Nāgama Nāyaka. He was of the Kaśyapa gōtra and hailed from Kāñci.[1] Nāgama Nāyaka is mentioned in several inscriptions as an officer of the Vijayanagara rulers[2] but these do not contain any informatin about his insubordination. An epigraph dated S. 1485 (1563 A.D.) states that Viśvanatha Nāyaka had acquired the Tiruvadi-dēsa (Travancore) as *amaranāyakam* from Rāmarājar Ayyan[3]. The Padmanēri grant[4] and the Vellangudi plates[5] state that Visvanatha conquered in battle the Tiruvadi (*i.e.* the ruler of Travancore), the Pāṇḍya

1. M.E.R. 255 of 1930; 245 of 1933; 111 of 1939; M.E.R. 1930, Pt. II, para 48.

2. Nagama Nayaka is referred to in M.E.R. 331 of 1913 (1475 A.D.) and 48 of 1887 and 6 of 1903 dated 1482 A.D. M.E.R. 318 of 1909 (1484 A.D.) says that he was the *mudaipavadai* (foremost of the servants) of the king; M.E.R. 36 of 1929 (1500 A.D.) M from Sivapuri (Ramnad District) says that Nagama held the Piśirānmalai Sirmai; M.E.R. 192 of 1933, a record of Nagama, is from Nodiyur in Tanjore.

3. M.E.R. 17 of 1912; *Tiruppanimālai*, v. 49 also states that he conquered the Tiruvadi. Besides Acyuta's expedition against the Tiruvadi in about 1530-31 A.D. Ramaraja Vitthala also led another expedition against the Tiruvadi in about 1543 A.D. in the reign of Sadasiva. It is not certain in which of these expeditions Visvanatha participated or whether he helped in both.

4. M.E.R. 14 of Appendix A, 1906: E.J., Vol. XVI, p. 288.

5. E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 298 ff.

king, the Vāṇādarāya and other kings and established his sway over the Madurā-rājya. A Sundarattōḷuḍaiyār Māvalivāṇādarāyar was ruling in the Madurai country from about 1530 to 1535 A.D. In an epigraph dated S. 145(4)[1], he calls himself the Vijayanagara feudatory. He was probably the Bāṇādarāya ruler said to have been defeated by Viśvanātha.

The exact date of the establishment of the Nāyaka dynasty at Madurai is another problem which presents many difficulties. The date 1559 A.D. given by Nelson is generally regarded as unsatisfactory. Some scholars are of the opinion that Viśvanātha established his dynasty at Madurai as early as 1529 A.D. in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's reign[2]. Another opinion is that the Nāyaka dynasty was founded not by Viśvanātha but by his son Kṛṣṇappa[3]. Epigraphical evidences and accounts of the chronicles prove that Viśvanātha was administering the Madurai country in some capacity or other from about 1532-33 A.D.[4] onwards. With regard to the events of

1. M.E.R. 451 of 1924.

2. R. Sathianatha Aiyar: *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 40-47; M.E.R. 1937, part II, para 57.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *History of South India*, p. 277; Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, App. B., p. 453 ff. and *Vijayanagara History*, pp. 239-41.

4. The *Maduraittalavaralāru* and the *Pandyan Chronicle* say that Visvanatha Nayaka ruled at Madurai from 1533 to 1542 A.D. and from 1544 to 1545 A.D. and that he again came to Madurai under the Rayar's orders and ruled from 1559 to 1572 A.D. While all these dates cannot be accepted as being accurate, the accounts show that he administered the Madurai country for three terms. The earliest record of Visvanatha in this region is dated 1532 A.D. (M.E.R. 88 of 1929). In this record he says that he was the *āḷiyam* (servant) of Acyuta. In M.E.R. 113 of 1908, dated 1534-35 A.D. Acyuta grants a village to a temple for the merit of his officer Visvanātha Nayaka. In M.E.R. 43 of 1939 dated 1536 A.D. Visvanatha makes a gift to the Srirangam temple, of four silver chains or a swing which had been entrusted to him by Acyuta. M.E.R. 264 of 1930 dated 1540 A.D. refers to Visvanatha Nayaka of Tirucinapalli Cavadi. Then for about ten years epigraphs of the region do not mention him. In M.E.R. 599 and 721 of 1916 dated 1550 A.D. from Tinnevelly district he figures as the agent of Ramaraja Vitthala. In M.E.R. 385 of 1916 dated 1558 A.D. from Tinnevelly district he continues as the agent (*kāryakarta*) of Ramaraja. M.E.R. 622 of 1915 dated 1560 A.D. shows his presence in South Arcot. The above records would show that from about 1532 A.D. Visvanatha served as a loyal Vijayanagara officer in various parts of the empire.

1533 A.D. John Nieuhoff says "there are three Nayks in this part of India, *viz.*, The Nayk of Madure, the Nayk of Tanjore, and the Nayk of Gingi.......their predecessors having inancient times been only governors of those countries they are now possessed of, under the jurisdiction of the kings of Vidia Nagar, Bisnagar or Narasingha, but having revolted against their liege-lord, each of them assumed the royal power and title"[1]. The information contained in Nieuhoff's letter as well as the fact that Visvanātha appears to have occupied a high position of trust and responsibility throughout Acyuta's reign probably would indicate that Viśvanatha might be credited with the founding of the Nāyakship of Madurai early in the reign of Acyuta, if not earlier.

Viśvanātha Nāyaka was a good administrator and was ably assisted in his work by Ariyanātha Madali, the well-known *daḷavāy* and *pradhāni* who served under the first four Nāyaka rulers. With his help Viśvanātha demolished the old Pāṇḍya rampart and ditch which at that time surrounded the walls of the temple, and constructed an extensive double-walled fortress with 72 bastions. One of Visvanatha's memorable works was the organisation of the Madurai country into *pāḷaiyams*. It is said that 72 *pāḷaiyams* were created and that each *pāḷaiyagār* was left in charge of one of the 72 bastions of the Madurai fort. He improved the great temple at Madurai. He strengthened the defence of Trichinopoly. Ariyanātha suppressed a rising of "five Pāṇḍyas" in the region of Kaitār in Tinnevelly and restored order. Visvanatha ruled till 1564 A.D. and remained loyal and subordinate to Vijayanagar.

Viśvanatha was succeeded by his son Krsnappa Nāyaka I (1564-72 A.D.). It is said that in his reign one Tumbicci Nāyaka rebelled in the region of Paramakudi in Ramnad but was suppressed. The Kṛṣṇāpuram plates[2], dated 1567 A.D. state that Kṛṣṇappa defeated the Tiruvadi king and that he had the title, "*Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanācārya*". These facts taken along with the suppression of the rebellion of Tumbicci Nāyaka show that Kṛṣṇappa took part in Acyuta's southern campaign against the Tiruvadi. The *Singhaḷa*

1. John Nieuhoff: *Voyages and Travels into Brasil and East India*. R. Sathianatha Aiyar: *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 331-32.
2. E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 328-42.

Dvīpa Katha gives a detailed account of the successful Ceylon expedition of Kṛṣṇappa. Not much confirmatory evidence is available regarding this exploit. Ariyanātha Mudali continued as minister.

Kṛṣṇappa Nayaka was succeeded by his son Vīrappa Nayaka (1572-95 A.D.). A rebellion by Mahābali Vāṇādarāya in Manamadura region is stated to have been promptly suppressed by Vīrappa and his territory confiscated. There is an epigraph of a Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān Māvalivāṇādarajan from Alagarkoyil, dated 1589 A.D.[1] He is probably the Bāṇādarāya defeated by Vīrappa. Ariyanatha continued to be the minister. Some epigraphs of Vīrappa Nayaka mention his Dalavāy Kanakappa Nāyakkar.[2] The later Pāṇḍya kings Varatunga (acc. 1587 A.D.) and Abhirāma Ativīrarāma Srīvallabha (acc. 1564 A.D), the joint donors of the Pudukkottai grant[3], were the contemporaries of Vīrappa. In his 9th and 10th years Srīvallabha made several grants at Srīvilliputtūr for the merit of Vīrappa Nāyaka[4]. This evidently indicates that these later Pāṇḍyas considered Vīrappa as their overlord.

Vīrappa enjoyed a long reign of peace and prosperity. Vīrappa, or Kṛṣṇa Vīrappa as he was called, was an able ruler who made many improvements to the kingdom. He appears to have been an ardent Śaiva and made many additions and improvements to the Madurai temple. He built the *Kambattaḍi Maṇḍapa*, the Thousand pillar *Maṇḍapa*, the Tirujnānasambandar shrine, the north *gōpura* and others and gave munificent gifts to the temple. He may be easily ranked among the greatest individual contributers to the temple.

During Vīrappa's reign the first attempts were made by Fernandez to establish a Christian mission at Madurai but they turned out to be a failure.

Vīrappa had three sons, Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa, Viśvappa and Kastūri Rangappa. Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa or Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka II (1595-

1. M.E.R. 91 of 1929.
2. M.E.R. 323 of 1923; 55 of 1924.
3. M.E.R. 7 of Appendix A, 1906; T.A.S. Vol. I, p. 61.
4. M.E.R. 591, 592 of 1926.

1601 A.D.) became king in 1595 A.D. Nelson says that there was a joint rule of Kṛṣṇappa and Virappa. With the available evidences it is not possible to assert this fact with certainty. Probably Viśvappa had a brief reign since a statue in the *Pudu Maṇḍapa* is said to be a represenatation of him. Two epigraphs dated 1678 A.D.[1] appear to contain some references to him, as they mention a Viśvappa Nāyaka and a Virappa Nāyaka Visvanātha Nāyaka, son of Viśvanātha Nāyaka Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka. The Padmanēri[2] and Vellangudi plates[3] were issued in 1598 A.D. during the reign of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka and contain valuable information about the genealogy of the Nāyakas of Madurai. One epigraph mentions Mūrti Śetti as an agent of the king.[4] The *Tiruppanimālai*[5] states that a Mūrti Śetti presented a *dīpa tōraṇa* to the Swami shrine *mahā maṇḍapa* and that he built a *maṇḍapa*. It is not clear whether this donor is the same as the king's agent. During Kṛṣṇappa's reign Ariyanatha Mudali died after having rendered noteworthy sevrice under four rulers.

Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka was a powerful ruler though he had only a short reign of about five years. On his death the throne is said to have been usurped by his youngest brother Kastūri Rangappa but within a week's time the usurper was murdered and Muttu Kṛṣṇappa (1601-09 A.D), the son of Viśvappa, was crowned the ruler. During his reign one notable event was the effective organisation of the Marava country under the Sētupatis of Ramnad. The coastal region was left to the control of foreigners like the Dutch and the Portuguese. The weaknesses and disadvantages of such a policy were only slowly realised by the Nāyakas.

Several eigraphs of Muttu Vīrappa[6] come from the old Travancore State and in one of them he is said to have made a gift of lands

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1. M.E.R. 663 of 1916; 56 of 1932.

2. M.E.R. 14 of Appendix A, 1905; E.I., Vol. XVI, p. 287 ff.

3. M.E.R. 9 of Appendix A of 1912; E.I., Vol. XVII, p. 298 ff. Another copper plate (S.G.P. No. 136) dated S. 1519 and granting the village of Madanagopalapuram to several Brahmans gives a similar genealogy of the Nayakas.

4. M.E.R. 717 of 1916 (S. 1522).

5. Verse 36.

6. T. A. S., Vol. V, Nos. 63 (S. 1526), 64 (S. 1527), 66 (S. 1529), pp. 19, 194, 195.

to the Kanyā Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin. These epigraphs fall in the reign of Muttu Kṛṣṇappa. From these it may be inferred that his son Muttu Vīrappa as prince was in charge of the Travancore region and that Muttu Vīrappa exercised effective control over these areas. Muttu Kṛṣṇappa is said to have built a town called Kṛṣṇāpuram between Madurai and Tirupparankunram, "the ruins of which bear melancholy testimony to his liberality."[1]

In the reign of Muttu Kṛṣṇappa the Christian missionary activities of De Nobili and his successors met with some amount of success due to the thorough-going schemes of conversion followed by De Nobili.

Muttu Kṛṣṇappa was followed by his son Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka I (1609-23 A.D.).[2] Up till now all the Nāyaka rulers had been loyal to Vijayanagar. But troubles started after the Vijayanagara emperor Venkata I died in 1614 A.D. Muttu Vīrappa seems to have taken advantage of the empire's weakness and disregarded the imperial suzerainty. He joined anti-imperialist Jinji against imperialist Tanjore. The war ended with the triumph of the imperialist party and with the marriage of Vīrappa's daughter to Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore. Muttu Vīrappa appears to have changed his capital from Madura to Trichinopoly in about 1616 A.D.[3] Taking advantage of Muttu Vīrappa's war with Tanjore, the Raja of Mysore launched on a policy of aggression and annexation of the Madurai country. The local poligars of Virūpākṣi and Kannivādi, however, repulsed the invaders.

Muttu Vīrappa tolerated the activities of the Christian missionaries only to a certain extent. De Nobili's work was also hampered by Fernandez's accusations against him, which led to a great

1. V. Rangachari: *The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura. Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLV, p. 104.

2. There is some uncertainty about the date when Muttu Krsnappa died. Two letters of the missionary, Robert de Nobili, seem to indicate that he died in Dec. 1606; Rev. A. Sauliere: *The date of accession of Muttu Virappa Nayaka I of Madurai settled by letters of his contemporary Fr. Robert de Nobil* (Journal of Indian History, 1954, p. 83 ff.)

3. R. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

loss of prestige. Faced with failure in Madurai, De Nobili went towards the North.

Muttu Vīrappa was succeeded by his brother Triumala Nāyaka (1623-59 A.D.), the best known ruler of his dynasty. In the field of art and architecture his reign was a period of pomp, splendou and magnificence But it is doubtful whether Tirumala was an equally great genius in the sphere of politics, diplomacy and State-craft. He changed his capital from Trichinopoly back to Madura and carefully organised the defences of the kingdom. Ramappaiyyan was the king's *dalavāy*. Tirumala's reign was marked by a large number of military campaigns. Tirumala was successful in his wars with Mysore. Ever since the time of Rāmarāja Vitthala's conquest of the Tiruvadi, Travancore had been loyal to Vijayanagar but now there were signs of insubordination. Tirumala undertook a successful expedition against Travancore in about 1634-35 A.D.[1] In Ramnad region there was a dispute between Sadaika Teva II (Dalavāy Sētupati) and his illegitimate brother "Tambi". Tirumala at first sided Tambi. The Portuguese and the Dutch also took sides in this war. Rāmappaiyyan, with Ranganna Nayaka as second in command, was in charge of the successul campaign against the Setupati.[2] Sadaika was defeated and Tambi made the ruler. But when Tambi's rule proved weak and unpopular Tirumala restored Sadaika. The Marava country was partitioned after Sadaika was murdered in about 1645 A.D. Finally Raghunātha Theva became the ruler and remained a staunch and loyal ally of Tirumala. Raghunātha defeated the Muslims, and crushed a Poligar rising at Ettaiyapuram and was rewarded liberally by Tirumala.

Till about 1634 Tirumala was loyal to Vijayaagar, though it was only a nominal subordination. In later years force of circumstances made him turn actively against Vijayanagar. When Sriranga III marched to the south in about the middle of Tirumala's reign, Tirumala planned an alliance with the Nāyakas of Jinji and Tanjore, to oppose the emperor, but his plans were betrayed by the

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1. T. A. S., Vol. V, No. 69 dated Kollam 810 (1635 A.D.) p. 208.; T. Nagam Aiya: *The Travancore State Manual*, pp. 302-03.

2. The *Rāmappaiyan Ammānai* gives a detailed account of the war.

Nāyaka of Tanjore. Then Tirumala requested the Golkonda Sultan to help him against the emperor. After defeating the emperory the Sultan turned against the other South Indian kingdoms. So Tirumala was forced to ask the Sultan of Bijapur for help. But all this only led to Muslim extension in the Carnatic.

Tirumala probably remained neutral in the contests between the Dutch and the Portuguese, in the south.

During his reign there was expansion of missionary activities towards the north and the west of Madurai and the Marava country. The missionaries suffered from persecution. In 1639 A.D. Tirumala made promises of freedom but again there was persecution in 1640 and 1644 A.D. De Nobili interviewed Tirumala for freedom of action. But the ruler's promises did not afford protection from popular persecution. De Nobili died in 1660 A.D.

Tirumala was the master builder of his age and he made significant contributions in the realms of art and architecture. He built the *Pudu Mandapa*, dug the *Vandiyūr Teppakulam*, carried out many repairs and renovations to the Madurai temple and began the unfinished *Rāya Gopura*. He also built an extensive palace to the south-east of the temple. Tirumala is credited with the building of many structures—both religious and civilian—not only in Madurai but also in many other places such as Tirupparankunram, Alagarkoyil, Srivilliputtur, etc.

Tirumala's successor Muttu Vīrappa ruled only for about three or four months, during which period he had to ward off Muslim attacks with bribes. Then he was followed by Cokkanātha Nayaka (1659-82 A.D) who was only 16 years old at the time of his accession. A cabal consisting of the *pradhāni, rāyasam* and *dalavāy* was formed for administraive work. Cokkanātha soon freed himself from their control. Then he had to overcome the conspiracies formed by the Dalavay Lingama Nāyaka.

In his reign there was much distress in Tanjore due to a severe famine. Madurai was also troubled by wars, wild beasts and epidemics. Cokkanātha was a weak ruler. He bouht off the Bijapur army besieging Trichinopoly. He then took Vallam. In the Marava country he met with reverses. Cokkanātha again changed the

capital from Madura to Trichinopoly. He atempted to remove many of the precious materials from Tirumala Nāyaka's palace at Madurai with the aim of constructing a grandstructure at Trichinopoly but he only succeeded in depriving Madurai of some of her precious artistic treasures. Wars with Mysore resulted in the loss of Coimbatore and Salem. Cokkanātha conquered Tanjore and appointed his foster brother Alagiri Nāyaka (Muttu Alakādri) as its viceroy. But the Marathas who were in the Carnatic region, headed by Ekoji, conquered and occupied Tanjore and drove out Alagiri.

Cokkanātha Nāyaka was deposed and imprisoned and his foster brother Muttu Alakādri was made king in 1678 A.D. At this time one Rustam Khan, a Muslim adventurer, usurped the throne and ruled for about two years, with Cokkanātha as a puppet king. Rustam was murdered in about 1680 A.D. Cokkanātha was then besieged in Trichinopoly by the Mysore army and then by the Nāyaka of Jinji. This weak ruler died in 1682 A.D.

Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka III or Ranga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Vīrappa (1682-89 A.D.) succeeded to a much reduced kingdom. Even Madurai town was in enemy hands at the time of his acession. After the end of the war between Mysore and Madurai, the Marathas tried to annex Madurai. But soon order was restored and many possessions were recovered. In the Marava country the Madurai army met with reverses. Ranga Kṛṣṇa's benevolence and enthusiasm helped a great deal in the restoration of order.

During his reign De Britto worked in the Madura mission but returned to Portugal, due to persecution.

Ranga Kṛṣṇa died in 1689 A.D. After the birth of his posthumous son Vijayaranga Cokkanātha, Muttammal, the queen of Ranga Kṛṣṇa, committed suicide. Vijayaranga was crowned when he was barely three months old, and his grandmother Mangammāḷ ruled as the regent. The tact and diplomacy of Mangammāḷ helped in maintaining amicable relations with the neighbouring powers. She bought off the Muslims and was subordinate and loyal to them. She also bribed the Mahrattas. She successfully resisted the aggressive policy of Cikkadevarāya of Mysore. She undertook an expdition to Travancore to collect arrears of tribute.[1] Her war with Tanjore

1. V. Nagam Aiya: *The Travancore State Manual*, i, pp. 197-8 & 317-8.

ended in peace and an alliance. In Ramnad Kilavan Setupati was becoming more and more independent. In about 1698 A.D. he besieged Madurai city and took it but was soon driven out. In 1702 A.D. he became completely independent.

Mangammāḷ's religious policy was one of toleration. Her liberality regarding charities and public works is proverbial[1]. She is said to have met with a tragic death in 1706 A.D

From 1706 A.D. to 1732 A.D. Vijayaranga Cokkanātha ruled independently. He was deeply religious minded. His reign is a record of sufferings, steady decline and ruin of the kingdom due to his indifference and weakness. The country suffered from the mal-administration of the ministers. There were also famines and drought in the country. An inscription of 1710 A.D.[2] says that a temple servant fell down from the Madurai temple *gopura* as a protest against undue taxation. Salem and Coimbatore were permanently lost to Madurai at this period.

Vijayaranga was succeeded by his queen Mīnākṣi (1732 to 39-40 A.D.) whose short reign was marked by internal strife, succession disputes, foreign intervention and occupation. Mīnākṣi had no son. She adopted Vijayakumāra, the son of Bangāru Tirumala, who is said to have been a member of another branch of the royal family. Bangāru Tirumala plotted to depose the queen. Chanda Saheb was sent by the Nawab of Arcot to take Madurai and Tanjore. Chanda Saheb posed as an arbitrator between Mīnākṣi and Bangāru. Mīnākṣi tried to bribe Chanda Saheb with a sum of Rs. one crore. In the end Chanda Saheb turned treacherous and imprisoned Mīnākṣi in her own palace at Trichinopoly[3] where she committed suicide. Madurai fell into the hands of the Muslims. Thus the Nāyaka dynasty of Madurai came to an end after having ruled for a period of nearly two centuries.

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1. S. C. P. No. 47, 19; M.E.R. 733 of 1905; M.E.R. 3 of Appendix A, 1911; M.E.R. 19 of Appendix A, 1911, registering her gift of some villages to the Daraga of Babanatta, shows her liberal religious views.

2. Burgess, pp. 110-1, No. 224; M.E.R. 6 of 1915.

3. S.C. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 12.

B. Administration and Social Life under the Nayakas

The Nāyakas of Madurai started as subordinates of the Vijayanagara empire. In the later stages of their rule this subordination had become only nominal. Yet one finds during the Nāyakas' rule the influence of Vijayanagara reflected in its administration and in the social and economic life of Madurai.

The central government was carried on by the king assisted by his ministers such as the *dalavāy* or Prime Minister, the *pradhāni*[1] or Finance Minister, the *rāyasam*[2] and others[3]. Very often the office of the *dalavāy* and the *pradhāni* was found combined in the same person; for instance, Ariyanatha Mudali under the first four Nāyakas. Other powerful and talented *dalavāys* were Rāmappaiya in the reign of Tirumala Nāyaka[4] and Narasappaiya under Mangammāḷ.

The nature of the government greatly depended on the influence of the king's personality. This was one prominent source of weakness during the Nayaka rule. Under powerful rulers like Viśvanātha Nāyaka and Tirumala Nayaka the kingdom rose to great heights of splendour and glory but under weak personalities like Cokkanatha and Vijayaranga Cokkanātha the kingdom suffered from a lack of strong central control and steadily declined and fell a prey to the aggressions of neighbouring powers.

The kingdom was divided into *pālaiyams* ruled over by *pāḷaiyagārs* (poligars), who had to pay a fixed financial contribution and supply a definite military quota to the Nāyaka ruler. Further, they were required to maintain a certain number of troops at the capital for guarding each one of the 72 bastions of the Madurai fort.

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1. M.E.R. 6 of 1915 mentions Pradhani Venkata Krsnayyan; M.E.R. 61 of 1939 and S.I.T.I., Vol. II, 788, both dated S 158(8), state that Cinnatambi Mudaliyar was the *vasal pradhani* of Gokkanatha Nayaka.

2. An officer who was perhaps the head of the secretariat. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam: *South Indian Polity*, pp. 123, 137.

3. I. P. S. 931 mentions Alagiri Nayakkar, son of Pokkiṣam (Treasurer) Minakṣi Nāyakkar.

4. S.I.T.I. Vol. I, No. 205, dated 1699 A.D. calls Ramappaiya the *Sarvadhikari* of the Madurai Samasthanam.

Their power seems to have varied with their distance frem the capital. Some of these poligars were very powerful. Under weak rulers they tried to assert themselves and gain independence.

A large measure of local autonomy still continued, with the village as the unit of local administration. From inscriptions of the period it may be inferred that the provinces were divided into *nādu*, *sīmai* or *mākāṇa*, and village (variously called *grāmam*, *mangalam*, *samudram*, *kudi*, *ūr*, *kuricci*, *patti*, etc.).

The administrative system was organised with a view to easy and speedy collection of revenue. The village revenue officer was called the *maniyakāran* or *ambalakāran*. The collections from villages were sent through the provincial officers to the centre. Land tax was the chief source of revenue. The amount of land tax collected was half of the produce of the land, according to the Jesuit writers.[1] Payment seems to have been in cash. Other sources of revenue were the income from crown lands, tribute from poligars amounting toone-third of the produce of their *pāḷaiyams*, revenue from the pearland chank fisheries, and various taxes.

The chief items of expenditure seem to have been public works and charities. Large sums were expended on temples and irrigation works[2]. Salaries of officials, the army and the police and judicial departments do not seem to have been a seious drain on the public revenues.

With regard to commerce and industries the lack of a navy as well as self-sufficiency at home seem to have stood in the way of a vigorous foreign trade. The pearl and chank fisheries were in a flourishing condition and Madurai was famous for her cloth manufacture. The coastal area was left to the control of foreign nations such as the Dutch and the Portuguese.

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1. Bertrand, ii, p. 124; R. Sathianatha Aiyar: *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, Appendix A, Letter No. 10.

2. M.E.R. 314 of 1928 refers to arrangements for feeding from the Nilaiyur channel the ten tanks round the Tirupparankunram hill; S.I.T.I., Vol. II, No. 760 mentions the repairs done to the head-sluice of a channel which had been originally constructed by the Colas and which had fallen into ruins.

The central government did not maintaian an elaborate judicial establishment. Justice was mostly administered locally by the village officers. John Nieuhoff says that "each village had two judges".[1] But it is not clear how the two judges were nominated. Bouchet states that "every head of the village was judge of all causes arising within the limits of his village, and heard and determined causes, assisted by three or four experienced villagers selected by him as assessors. Most suits were for debt. Litigants pleaded in person or by a friend. Great order and decorum prevailed during the trial. After hearing the parties and their witnesses, the court dismissed them and took time to consider............women were to be examined as witnesses only in cases of absolute necessity.......... A suitor dissatisfied with the judgment of the head of the village was at liberty to appeal to the *maniyakāran* or intendant of a group of villages. And a further appeal lay to the immediate officers of the Prince, who judge in the last resort"[2].

Sometimes cases involving religious and social rights were heard by the king and his officers. Vīrappa Nāyaka with his *pradhāni* Ariyanātha Mudaliyar and others once formed a committee to decide a boundary dispute regarding certain temple lands.[3] On another occasion Vīrappa Nāyaka decided a dispute regarding the levy on betel leaves and areca nuts[4]. The Jesuit letters also mention that the king heard and decided many complaints carried to him by the missionaries.

The *pradhāni* appears to have had control over Judicial affairs. Here, the system prevalent in Vijayanagar seems to have been followed in Madurai also. Proenza in his letter of 1655 A.D. makes the following observations about his own trial. "The Pradhāni did not consider the rival plaints........The examination was public.... ....He sent for the governor, judges, and all the great personages to come to the palace immediately. He came in great pomp........The governor intimidates the witnesses and compels

1. R. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 241 and Appendix C, p. 331.

2. The Jesuit Father Bouchet's letter of 1714 A.D. referred to in J. H. Nelson's *Hindu Law in Madras* 1714 (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1880, pp. 7, 9.)

3. M.E.R. 582 of 1926, M.E.R. 1927, para 92.

4. M.E.R. 282 of 1942.

them to depose according to his wishes..........All the procedure was sent to Madura, from where the judgement came seen. It proclaimed my innocence and fined the *ambalakāran* several thousands of *ecus*."[1]

Arbitration was largely used for deciding cases.[2] Regarding criminal justice there were sewersal ordeals in vogue such as the ordeal of boilingoil fire, water, and weighing, and taking a ring out of a narrow-necked earthen pot containing a cobra[3].

During the period of the Nāyakas a large number of Telugus immigrated and settled down in Madurai[4]. Many of the officers and followers of the Nāyakas were Telugus. The influx of Telugus into the Madurai country led to the absorption of various Telugu customs and manners by the Tamils. The observance of *Dasara* and other festivals which were popular in the Telugu countries was introduced into the Madurai country. The custom of *sati* seems to have been in vogue. The institution of the *harem* and the observance of *purda* and the seclusion of women were due to Muslim influences on social life.

One important Telugu community in the Madurai country was the *tottiyans*, otherwise known as *kambaḷattār*. They had the caste title *Nāyakkan*. Many of the poligars of the Madurai country hailed from this community, as, for instance, the poligars of Āykudi, Yedaiyakottai, Virupākṣi, Kannivādi, and Tavaśimaḍai.

The spread of Vijayanagara influence in the Madurai country also led to the migration of several Kanarese communities into this

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1. Bertrand: *La Mission Du Madure*, iii, pp. 178-81, quoted by R. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

2. M.E.R. 286 of 1930, Burgess, S.C.P., No. 20, pp. 107-8.

3. J.H. Nelson, *op. cit.* pp. 9-10.

4. The Vellangudi plates state that Virabhupati Samudram, the newly founded *agrahara*, was divided among a large number of Brahmans. From the names of these donees it may be seen that they were Brahmans of the Telugu country who might have already migratsd to the Tamil country or had come down south at the invitation of the donor. E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 298 ff. Also T.A.S. Vol. I, pp. 85-88, 145-46.

region. The *kāppiliyans* and the *anuppans* were the chief among these. Some poligars of the Kambam valley region were of Kanarese origin[1]. The accounts of most of the poligars - both *tottiyans* and *kāppiliyans*—narrate a tradition that the poligars fled south in the face of some oppression by the Muhammadans of the north. It is said that the *kāppiliyans* fled across the Tungabhadra and then travelled through Mysore to Kāñci, thence to Coimbatore and thence to the Madurai country[2].

The Saurāṣṭras or *Paṭnūlkārans* are another community which migrated into Madurai country and soon rose to prominence during this period. Their members are numerous in Madurai and Dindigul towns and are skilled in the art of weaving. Their vernacular is Patnūli or Khatri, a dialect of Gujarati, and they are said to have come from Gujarat originally. "An inscription dated 473-74 A.D. at Mandasor in Western Malwa relates[3] how the Paṭṭavāyas, as the caste was then called, were induced to immigrate thither from Lata, on the coast of Gujarat, by King Kumāra Gupta (or one of his lieutenants) to practise there the art of silk-weaving."[4] On the destruction of Mandasor by the Musalmans, the Paṭṭavāyas seem to have migrated south to Dēvagiri and thence to Vijayanagar and eventually to Madurai. The Saurāṣṭras with their flourishing silk-weaving industry have contributed much to the prosperity of Madurai.

The artisan community figures in several epighraphs of the period. They are usually referred to as the "*Anju jāti Kammāḷar*". Rottler in his dictionary enumerates the five classes of artisans as the *kal taccar* (stone cutters), *marattaccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmiths), *taṭṭār* (goldsmiths) and *kannār* (braziers). Two inscriptions dated 1623 and 1625 A.D.[5] state that Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka issued a royal writ prohibiting the members of the five subdivisions of artisans (*kanmāḷar*) from intermingling (*uḍankūṭṭam*) with each other. This is one instance of the occasional interference of the Nāyakas for

1. W. Francis: *Madura District Gazetteer*, p. 108.
2. Ibid.
3. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 194-201.
4. W Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
5. M.E.R. 309 and 378 of 1916.

checking breaches and violations of caste rules. Otherwise the Nāyakas were generally non-interfering in their social policy and usually tried to maintain the traditional Hindu social pattern.

An inscription of Cokkanātha[1] registers the king's order permitting the five divisions of *kammāḷar* (or *pancālattār*) the privileges of using the elephant, double *cauris*, white umbrella, palanquin, tents, and others.

The artisans had also to pay certain specified taxes to the government. On one occasion Tirumala Nāyaka remitted certain taxes due from the five artisan classes for conducting the *Mārgaḷi* festival in the Cokkanātha temple at Madurai[2].

One epigraph mentions the remission of caste levy (*jāti vari*) on the Reddis in the Madurai country.[3] Another mentions a land gift to some washermen to settle down in a village and render services to a certain temple[4]. In about 1569 A.D. certain concessions were granted to the barbers (*ambiṭṭar*) in the suburb of Srīvilliputtūr, *viz.*, the exemption from the paymet of *viṭṭupaṇam* (house tax), *ālpaṇam* (poll tax) and some *ṡilvarigaḷ* (minor cesses)[5]. Certain blacksmiths and carpenters were also granted similar concessions.[6]

In about 1665 A.D. there appears to have been a caste dispute between the two castes, *dēvēndra-kuṭumbar* and the *paraiyar* in Srīvilliputtūr regarding certain social privileges[7].

Social Rank and Status

Social rank and status seem to have been well recognised and marked by distinctions of title and other honorific perquisites. Apart from the royal household and the palace officials like the *dalavāy*, *pradhāni* and others, nobles like the poligars enjoyed many

1. S.I.T.I. Vol. II, No. 748.
2. M.E.R. 287 of 1942.
3. M.E.R. 283 of 1942.
4. M.E.R. 594 of 1926.
5. M.E.R. 586 of 1926.
6. M.E.R. 113 of 1907.
7. M.E.R. 588 of 1926; M.E.R. 1927, para. 101.

privileges granted to them by royal favour. These served as an order of precedence.

Among the titles conferred may be mentioned that of "*Tirumaḷai Sētupati*" given by Tirumala Nāyaka to Raghunātha Setupati for faithful service. Cinnapa Nāyaka, the poligar of Virūpākṣi, is said to have had the titles "*Vallacaroyah*" (*Vallakarāya*, one valiant and noble), "*Nishcallanka*" ("*Niṣkalanka*") and "*Nishcullanka Mullen*" (*Niṣkalanka mallan*) and also the dignity of adding the term *Tirumala* to his own name[1]. Uppea Naiker (Appaiyya Nāyakar), the poligar of Kannivāḍi, crushed some marauders who were harassing pilgrims to the shrine to Muruga at Palni, and was rewarded with various honours and the title *Kaudvetty* (*Kāduveṭṭi*)[2]. The poligars were awarded many distinctions and honours and gifts for their fidelity and meritorious service. The following honours[3], granted by the Vijayanagara emperor to an ancestor of the poligar of Yeḍaiyakōttai who had helped Viśvanātha Nāyaka in a campaign against the "Pasha of Delhi" give an indication of the titles and paraphernalia that distinguished the recipients. The following titles, *Niṣkalanko Mallan* and *Vallakarāyan*, were conferred and the honours included *taṇḍikai* or palanquin, a *śirasupattam* or golden turban band, *raṇa kaṅkaṇam* or war bracelets, *raṇa pāśaṅgam* or laurel for the head, "*Swamy droha Vendium*" or a bangle with a clasp like the head of a man, "*Niggalum*" or a golden string worn above the ankles, *vīra maṇi* or golden waist belts for warriors, *ubaya venjāmaram* or two white *cauris*, *veḷḷai* and *paccai* "*doll*" or white and green flags, white and green *koḍai* or umbrellas, white and green *suruṭṭi* or parasols, as well as flags with Garuda, lion and swan emblems, a "*moomarshoo*"[4]. "*Veera Thunda*" or a bludgeon, *pagal dīvaṭṭi* or day torch, a "*panniranḍu mugu dīvaṭṭi*" or twelve-rayed torch, and also a '*kaul vendeum undathmaus moojelly pinjelly*' which is stated to be a white horse with caparisons. The Poligar of Kannivāḍi received the title *Kāḍuveṭṭi* and many honours for various services rendered. He was given

1. A manuscript in the Madras Record Office.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. The meaning of this word is not clear. It may perhaps refer to a triple drum.

the "*Shaumothrogavendium*" or golden anklets, *Veeracundaumunnee* (*Vīrakṇṭāmaṇi*) or golden chain, and a "*Vella Suckradoll*" or white umbrella.[1] This chief is said to have taken part in Viśvanātha Nāyaka's campaign against the Pāṇḍyas in the Kaittār region. After his success in the war, the Nāyaka ruler is stated to have allowed the poligar to take away the armour and many of the ornaments of the Pāṇḍya, as a reward[2]. "Tirumalay Coopula Chinnapanikan", the poligar of Virūpākṣi, accompanied Dalavay Rāmappayyan in his campaign against the Sētupati and was rewarded by Tirumala Nāyaka with the honours of a tassel of peacock feathers set with precious stones, emerald bracelets, a pearl necklace and a *bājibandu* (a jewel worn on the arm).[3]

Honours and privileges were not confined to the nobility alone In royal levees particularly, temple priests and officials seem to have enjoyed a priority over laymen.[4]

While poets and literary men were honoured, the sculptor, the painter or the *śilpi* enjoyed a lesser status and were considered only craftsmen. Prosperous merchants enjoyed a better social status and many of them have donated largely to temples. But the vast multitude of humbler folk do not seem to have had any opportunity to rise in social status. The extremely low cost of living when the current *fanam* equivalent to two and a half annas could buy 8 *marakkāls* or 96 lb. of rice, seems to have kept the people contented without being more ambitious.

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1. A manuscript in the Record Office.

2. *Ibid.* The following names of the Pandya king's ornaments are mentioned but some of the names are rather obscure; "1st: *Moothoocor* or a bunch of fine pearls set in gold to be worn on the turban—2nd: *Runnapaunugam*, an ornament of fine gold set with precious stones, to be worn over the turban—3rd: *Unduthmunnee* or a fish made in wood etc. and suspended on the point of a stick—4th: *Singakode* or a grand umbrella with a lion's head in silver—5th: *Mugakode*, or a fine coloured (screen) which is thrown in front on public occasions and 6th: *Venjamarum* or bunch of white fleece, fixed in a silver stick".

3. Ibid.

4. *Vide*, Chapter X, Section E (4).

Dress and Ornaments of the Period

There are very few contemporary accounts relating to Madurai which give a description of the dress or ornaments worn by the different classes of people. However, the various sculptures, stucco and paintings in the temple *mandapas* and *gōpuras* afford a more reliable guide than any description could give. The *Pudu Maṇḍapa* in the Madurai Temple is a rich source of this kind presenting a vivid record of the contemporary mode of dress and jewellery worn by the kings and queens, their attendants and nobles. Other ssculptures and stuccos in the Thousand Pillar *Maṇḍapa* and on ome of the *gopuras* give a picture of how some of the common folk looked and lived.

The kings of the period appear to have dressed in a simple manner. Many of them as may be seen from their statues in the *Pudu Maṇḍapa* did not wear any dress over their bodies. A tight fitting full sleeved jacket of thin material was sometimes worn as may be seen on the statues of Kastūri Rangappaa and Tirumala Nāyaka. The general mode of royal wear seems to have been a *dhōti*, *angavastra* and a head dress. The *dhōti* was of rich material, silk or brocade, and was worn in the *pañcakacca* fashion. The head dress was of the high Vijayanagara type or an ordinary cap or sometimes a turban. A large number of jewels like ear rings, necklaces, shoulder ornaments, armlets, bracelets, finger rings, girdles, anklets and toe rings were worn.

The queens wear a rich blouse and a *sari* tied in the customary manner with one of the ends gathered into pleats and hanging gracefully from the waist down. Some queens like those of Thirumala Nāyaka appear to wear a full sleeved tight-fitting jacket below their blouses. On a few queens like those of Viśvanātha, Viśvappa and Muttu Virappa the other end of the *sari* is brought over the shoulder and hangs loose on the arm. Kumara Kṛṣṇappa's queen wears a diaphanous *sari* covering her body. Most of the queens wear their hair neatly combed and tied in a knot in a big chignon. Some queens wear their hair beautifully plaited and adorned with flowers. But all the queens have on their heads the jewel known as *candraprabhā* and *sūryaprabhā*. Besides ear rings, a number of other smaller jewels are worn on the ears. A prominenet jewel worn on the neck-

is the *poṭṭu*, the matrimonial disc worn by Telugu women. This corresponds to the Tamilian *tirumangalaya* or *tāli*. Armlets, bracelets, anklets, finger and toe-rings of various patterns are seen. The ladies favour a number of richly jewelled waist bands or girdles, the lower most one beirg broader and more ornate than the rest.

The ladies are accompanied by women attendants, some bearing *cauris* and some preparing betel, like the one on the pillar with the sculpture of Vīrappa Nāyaka. Some of the women, like another figure on the same pillar, carry a fan in their hands. These women attendants are dressed in a simpler manner with a diaphanous drapery covering them and their great big chignons tied with flowers being thrown to the right or left of their shoulders. The male attendants are dressed in plain *dhōtis*, wear caps on their heads and a dagger on their waist. Some of them carry *cauris*, or fans; others are *adappams* or betel bearers.

The base of the pillar on which the statue of Tirumala Nāyaka stands is interesting as it reveals some of the royal panoply of the period. On the frieze immediately below the standing figures are sculptured 24 women with *anjali hastas*. These are probably ladies of Tirumala Nāyaka's harem. The lowermost frieze shows standard bearers. The standards are of different patterns as described in the paraphernalia of royal personages. A big wooden fish carried on the end of a pole seems to have been one of the chief distinctions of the Pāṇḍya rulers and this appears to have been adopted by the Nāyaka rulers also. Two of these *matsya* standards could be seen borne by two of the footmen on this pillar.

Two of the ministers whose sculptured representations are seen are those of Nāraṇappayyar and Ariyanātha Mudali. These wear turbans, jackets and *dhōtis* with the *aṅgavastra* tied neatly round the waist. No footwear could be seen on any of the figures. The wariors as seen below the equestrain .statues in the *Pudu Maṇḍapa* and before the *Paḷḷiyarai* in Alagarkoyil wear only short pants. They are bare bodied but wear a cap and carry a sword and shield. Some of them are seen wearing the warrior's garland. The courtiers of the time seem to have adopted the Mogul dress of a long robe, a sort of combination of jacket and skirt, with a cloth tied over it at the waist. Turbans are worn on the head.

The other civilians wear only a *dhōti* and *angavstra* with a turban. The women folk seem to have dressed in the same manner as seen today but the *chignon* appears to have been in universal vogue. A small relief in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* shows women cooking, employing the ssame type of oven and vessels as in use even today.

The Brahman is usually shown with his *pañcakacca*, *aṅgavastra* or shawl and a clean shaven head with a tuft. The *rudrākṣa* is his only ornament. Some, however, may be seen more richly dressed with cap and jewels as seen on the figure of Subbarayar.

Literature

The priod of the Nāyaka regime in Madurai was one of great activity, in various fields of literature. The works were noted for their high literary style and quality. The Nāyakas, though themselves Telugus, patronised Tamil and Sanskrit also. Most of the works were of a highly philosophical and religious nature. Grammatical treatises and many works on *Dharmaśāstras* were also written.

Of the Sanskrit writers the most outstanding was Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, the great nephew of the celebrated Appayya Dīkṣita. He is said to have been a minister of Tirumala Nāyaka. Some of his works are *Sivalīlārṇava*, the *Nīlakaṇṭha Vijaya Campu* (1637), *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* and *Naḷacaritranāṭaka*. A large number of Tamil works were written in praise of the deity of Madurai. Purāṇa Tirumalai Nāḍār (16th c.) wrote the *Cokkanāthar Ulā* and is said to have presented it for approval in Vīra Pāṇḍya's court. The identity of this king is not clear. Anādari wrote the *Sundara Pāṇḍiyam* at the request of Maṉṟai Tiruvirundān, a general of Vīrappa Nāyaka (1572-95 A.D.) This poem gives an account of the Madurai *Tiruviḷaiyāḍals* and is based on a Sanskrit work, also called *Sundara Pāṇḍiyam*. Parañjōti Munivar who was born in Vēdāraṇyam and was the head of a *maṭha* at Madurai wrote the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*, probably in the early years of the 17th c.

Many *sthalapurāṇas* were written. Māsilāmaṇi Sambandan (16th c.) wrote the "*Uttarakōśamaṅgai Purāṇam*". Bālasubramanya Kavirāyar of Paḷani, the *Paḷani Talapurāṇam* (1628 A.D.), Niramba Alagiya Dēśikar (16th c.), the *Sēthu Purāṇam*, *Tirupparangiri Purāṇam* and others, and Kandasāmi Pulavar (1621 A.D.) of Tiruppūvaṇam,

purāṇas on Tiruvāppanūr and Tiruppūvaṇam. Vikrakavirāyar, a goldsmith of Nallūr in the Pāṇḍya country, wrote the *Ariccandra Purāṇam* in 1524 A.D.

Madai Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha, said to have been a minister of Ranga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Vīrappa, wrote a long Tamil poem based on the philosophical Sanskrit work *Prabōdhacandrōdaya*. Sēvvaiccūḍuvār (16th c.) of Vēmbaṟṟūr in the Maduraidistrict wrote the *Bhāgavatam* in Tamil. Kumaragurupara was a 17th c. poet who lived in the time of Tirumala Nāyaka. He was a Vēḷāḷa born in Śrīvaikuntam. He spent many years in North India and was engaged in religious disputations. He wrote the *Maduraikkalambakam* about Sundarēśvara's *līlas* and a large number of poems in praise of Goddess Mīnākṣi such as the *Mīnākṣiyammi Kuṟam*, *Mīnākṣiyammai Iraṭṭaimaṇimālai* and others.

The *piḷḷaittamiḻ*, *kuṟam*, *iraṭṭaimaṇimālai*, *ammānai* and similar types of Tamil poetry became popular during the 16th - 17th cs. The *Rāmappaiyan Ammānai*, a ballad by an anonymous author, deals with the exploits of Tirumala's *daḷavāy* Rāmappaiyyan and is of value since it is one of the few surviving historical works of its class in Tamil. A number of the later Pāṇḍya kings and princes were also of a literary bent and composed many works. Ativīrarāma, the ruler of Tenkasi (c. 1564 A.D.), wrote the well-known *Naiḍadam*, the *Kāśikāṇḍam*, *Kūrmapurāṇam*, *Liṅgapurāṇam* and *Vāyusamhitai* as well as simple works such as *Veṟṟi Vēṟkai* for the benefit of young readers. His cousin Varatunga wrote the theological work *Piramōttarakāṇḍam* and three *andādis* in praise of the deity of Karivalamvandanallūr. Varatunga's queen was also an accomplished poetess.

The literature of the Nāyaka period was as varied in form and subject matter as the ranks from which the authors were drawn. The Nāyaka rulers encouraged the propagation of education. Robert de Nobill, the Jesuit missionary, wrote in 1610 A.D.[1] that more than 10,000 students were in Madura, and that they were being taught, boarded and lodged at public cost in Madurai. There was provision for the teaching of philosophy and theology to adults. Many *maṭhas* and temples imparted free education.

1. R. Sathianatha Aiyar: *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 257.

FINE ARTS : Fine arts received liberal patronage from the Nāyaka rulers. Music, dancing, painting, architecture and sculpture were in a flourishing state. The temples at Madurai and in the south are standing monuments to the great building activity of the period and the high level of craftsmanship attained by the stone masons and *stapatis*. Few paintings of the period have survived. However, Madurai was a centre noted for its *citrakāras* who had followed the rulers from the Telugu country and had settled in Madurai. From here they spread to Travancore in the south and to Trichinopoly and Tanjore also. Some families of these artists have survived till recent years in all these centres where they had established the southern school of painting. Two inscriptions from Jambukēśvaram[1] mention Pāṭakam Vaidyappaiyya, the son of Venkaṭēśvarayya, an instructor in the theatre hall (*Nāṭakaśala-śikṣam*) of Vijayaranga Cokkanātha. This theatre was probably attached to the royal palace at Trichinopoly. Many temples and *maṭhas* were either built or renovated and enlarged. Secular buildings like palaces were also erected.

The Nāyakas tried to maintain and promote the traditional pattern of Hindu social life for nearly two centuries.

RELIGION : The Nāyaka rulers followed a policy of religious toleration. They extended their patronage to a certain extent to non-Hidu religions also such as Islam[2] and Christianity. The early Nāyakas were on the whole ardent Śaivas, while the later ones were devout Vaiṣṇavas. From an epigraph it is learnt that Ācārya Vādhūla Cūḍāmaṇi was the religious teacher of Muttu Alakādri.[3]

Christianity was first introduced into the Madurai country towards the close of Vīrappa Nāyaka's reign. In about 1592 A.D. a Portuguese missisionary named Father Fernandez began working among the Paravas (fishermen). He was unable to effect any conversions even after working for about fourteen years since the people regarded the Portuguese or *Parangis* with great contempt. During

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1. M.E.R. 48 and 49 of 1938.

2. M.E.R. 19 of Appendix A, 1911, 161 of 1937, 18 of Appendix A of 1939 and T. A.S., Vol. V, No 81 register gifts to mosques.

3. M.E.R. 27 of 1939.

the regin of Muttu Kṛṣṇappa the first Jesuit, Robert de Nobili, an Italian, began to work in 1606 A.D. under the control of the Archbishop of Cranganore. Knowing that Fernandez had been handicapped by the fact that he was one of the unpopular *Parangis*, De Nobili evolved an original and thorough-going scheme for proselytisation. He openly avoided association with Fernandez, assumed a Hindu name, *Tatva Bōdagar* (teacher of philosophy), proclaimed himself as a "Roman Brahman" and a *sanyāsi*, and adopted the dress and meagre diet of the Hindu ascetics. He also tried to allow Christian converts to retain many Hindu customs and ceremonies. He made a thorough study of the Indian languages such as Tamil and Sanskrit and acquired a knowledge of Hindu literature. De Nobili was able to make some conversions and his fame rapidly spread at first. He built a church and presbytery in 1610 A.D. But soon his popularity waned and persecutions followed. The authorities of the Christian church did not approve of his unorthodox methods such as allowing the converts to retain their old Hindu customs. Many complaints were brought against De Nobili. He was censured in 1613 and finally recalled to Goa. About ten years later he was allowed to resume his work. He then spent most of his time in Trichinopoly where he suffered much from persecution. Once he was also imprisoned. In 1648 he left the Madurai country. De Nobili was the founder of the Madurai Mission whose early history was largely moulded by his great zeal and personal influence. But his experiment of establishing a mission exclusively among the Brahmans and princes proved a failure.

John de Britto and Father Beschi were two other personalities who belonged to the "Madura Mission". Britto was a Portuguese. In 1680 he reached Madurai with Andre Friere. He worked in the Marava country, *i.e.*, Ramnad, in face of strong opposition. He was arrested and executed in 1693 A.D.

Father Bouchet was able to gain some recognition and favours during the reign of Maṅgammāḷ. He was tactful and had a minute knowledge of court ceremonials. Hence he carefully avoided anything that might offend the ruler or raise suspicions against him.

CHAPTER IX

THE POST-NAYAKA PERIOD

The interval between the end of the Nāyaka dynasty and the cession of Madurai to the British in 1801 A.D. is a chequered period in the history of Madurai. For a major part of this period of about 60 years, Madurai was under the nominal rule of the Nawab of Carnatic.

After the death of Mīnākṣi in about 1739-40 A.D. the Nāyaka dynasty of Madurai came to an end and for a few years Chanda Saheb was all-powerful in the Madurai country. Chanda Saheb strengthened the defences of Trichinopoly. He appointed his two brothers, Buda Saheb and Saduck Saheb, as the governors of Madurai and Dindigul respectively The *Maduraittalavoralāru* says that on hearing that Caṇḍēkān Baḍēkān (Chanda Saheb and Buda Saheb) had taken the fort of Dindigul, Baṅgāru Tirumala Nāyaka's son Vijayakumāra Muttu Tirumala Nāyaka and the Setupati *vāśal dalavāy* Vellaiyan Servaikārar, along with the *stalattār* and *parijana* (attendants) left Madurai for Manamadurai on the night of the 30th of *Vaikāśi*, *Siddhārtti* (1739 A.D.) taking with them the Gods Mīnākṣi Sundarēśvara and Kūḍal Alagar. The Setupati made provisions for the *pūjas* and for the shelter of the temple servants. From *Āni* of *Siddhāritt* to *Āni* of *Durmati* for a period of two years they remained under his protection.

Meanwhile Baṅgāru Tirumala and the king of Tanjore who had suffered defeat at the hands of Chanda Saheb, asked the Marathas for help. The Marathas came to the south with a large army under the command of Raghoji Bhonsle, early in 1740, and defeated and killed the Nawab of Arcot in the pass of Dāmalceruvu in North Arcot. Then they retired for a time. At the end of the same year the Marathas suddenly reappeared and besieged Chanda Saheb in Trichinopoly. They defeated and killed his two brothers who advanced to his aid from Madurai and Dindigul[1]. After three months Chanda Saheb surrendered and was taken captive to Satara. Setting aside the claims of Baṅgāru Tirumala, the Marathas left Morari Rao of

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1. R. Orme : *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* p. 44.

Gooty as the governor in charge of the conquered kingdom. Morari Rao remained here for about two years till about 1743 A.D. when the Nizam re-established his control over the Carnatic. Thus between 1740 and 1743 A.D. there was a brief Maratha interlude in the history of Madurai. The *Maduraittalavaralāru* says that Morari Rao sent Appācci Nāyakar to Madurai with 2000 horses. To restore temple worship in Madurai, Appācci Nāyakar went to Vānaravīra-madurai to bring back the idols which had remained in the safe custody of the Setupati. On 17th *Āni* of *Dunmati* (1741 A.D.) he returned to Madurai along with the temple servants and restored the *pūjas*, festivals and villages as of old.

In August 1743 the Marathas retired from the south and by March 1744 the Nizam of Hyderabad had reasserted his control over the Carnatic and had appointed Anwaruddin as the Nawab of Arcot. The whole of Madurai also came under the sway of the Nawab of Arcot who ruled the country with the help of his two sons, Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali. The *Maduraittalavaralāru* says that the brothers ruled Madurai for a period of ten years.

In 1748 Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Arcot, was killed in battle. His son Muhammad Ali and Chanda Saheb were rival claimants to the throne and the fierce contest which broke out between them is commonly known as the Carnatic wars. Madurai did not play any direct part in these wars. But Muhammad Ali who had many followers in the Madurai country was a British protege, as a result of which the Carnatic wars led to an increasing influence of the English in the Madurai country.

In 1751 Alam Khan, the brother-in-law of one Mayana and a former employee of Chanda Saheb, marched through the country of the Toṇḍaimān, took possession of the fort of Madurai, and for a year ruled as far as the Tiruvadi Rājya (Travancore). He acknowledged Chanda Saheb as his sovereign. The loss of Madurai country was a serious one to Muhammad Ali since it constituted more than one half of his dominions. Hence he sent Captain Cope in 1751 to recover the city of Madurai.

The defences of Madurai were underestimated by the English and by the Nawab of Arcot. For three months from February to April, Cope, though ill-equipped, made a brave attempt to

scale the walls where his army had made a breach. The attackers, however, found that the damages were quickly repaired and the defence put up in such a vigorous manner and with such ingenuity that they had to abandon the attempt.

Afer ruling for a year, Alam Khan went to Trichinopoly leaving his relation Mayana as the governor of Madurai, and one Nabhi Khan in charge of Tinnevelly. With regard to the events from 1751 to 1753, the *Maduraittalavaralāru* gives the following account. Mayana sold the Madurai fort to the Mysoreans and left for Tirumohur. Then Kūku Saheb of Mysore[1] entered the Madurai fort on 30th *Purattāsi* of the *Āṅgīrasa* year (1752 A.D.) On hearing this, Vellaiyan Servaikkārar, the Setupati's *vāśal talakarittam* (commander) and Tandavaraya Pillai, the *vāśal pradhāni* of Udaiya Tevar (Zamindar of Sivaganga), came with a large army and besieged Madurai. After holding out for a few months (till *Kārttigai* of 1752 A.D.), Kūku Saheb handed over the fort to the Setupati as a result of arbitration and left for Dindigul. Then Vellaiyan Servaikkārar and Tandavaraya Pillai entered the fort of Madurai, opened up the temples, and restored worship and services. Since Kūku Saheb had slaughtered cows, cut down trees and done other such acts during the siege, they ordered the necessary purificatory ceremonies to be doen to the seven temples. Since the kingdom was without a ruler they sent for Baṅgāru Tirumala's son Vijayakumāra Muttu Tirumala who had taken refuge in Vellaikkuricci, had him crowned king on the 15th *Mārgali* of *Āṅgīrasa* (1752 A.D.) in the sanctum of the Goddess and invested with the sceptre. Vijayakumāra ruled for 18 months till *Vaikāsi* of the year *Śrīmukha*. Then Mayana, Mahadimiya, and Nabhi Khan drove out the ruler to Vellaikkuricci and captured Madurai fort and country. As usual they captured the temple lands, destroyed the trade of the merchants, the gardens and the tanks. Kūku Saheb and Vellaiyan Servaikkarar camped at Panaiyūr Anuppāladi (Anuppānadi?) for six montths and besieged the fort. However, Mayana drove them off and killed both of them in the affray. Thus Mayana remained in possession of Madurai fort and country till *Māsi* of the year *Bhava* (1754 A.D.).

1. He was perhpas the Khub Saheb Jamadar of the Mysoreans mentioned by the Nawab, Muhammad Ali. *Vide* S.G. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 31, n.1.

Early in 1755 Muhammad Ali sent Col. Heron on an expedition against Madurai to reduce the country to obedience. Muhammad Yusuf Khan, one of the Company's officers, was in charge of the 2000 sepoys. Since Mayana who had neglected the defences of Madurai had already fled for refuge to the temple of Kovilkud (Tirumohur), the sepoys under Yusuf Khan easily entered the city of Madurai. Col. Heron pursued Mayana who, however, managed to escape from Kovilkudi. Heron made the mistake of plundering the temple for which he paid dearly in an attack by the "Colleries" (*Kallars*) as he was passing through the Nattam pass, 20 miles away from Madurai.

Before leaving Madurai, Col. Heron placed Mahfuz Khan, the elder brother of Muhammad Ali, in charge of the administration of Madurai. But Mahfuz Khan proved a total failure as a ruler and there were many risings.

The *Maduraittalavaralāru* says that when Barukkudilla (*alias* Danishmund Khan),[1] a relation of Mahfuz Khan, was in charge of Madurai, a Muslim *fakir* attempted to erect a flag staff on top of the *Rāyagōpura*. The temple officials, the city merchants and all the people gathered together and tried to persuade him to give up these activities but the *fakir* refused to get down from the *gopura*. Then the temple officials closed the gates of the four *gōpuras* and remained inside the temple.

In 1756 Yusuf Khan was sent to the south to restore order. He reached Madurai in April and found that the garrison, the defences and the stores were in greatest disorder.[2] By July of the same year things seemed tranquil enough and Yusuf Khan went to Tinnevelly and Mahfuz Khan proceeded to Madurai. As soon as he reached Madurai his cavalry force, headed by the governor of the town, surrounded his house and demanded their arrears of pay. The brother of Muhamad Barki who was the son-in-law of Nabi Khan, entered the fort with 2,000 *Kaḷḷans*. Hearing these, Yusuf Khan marched to Madurai, and encamped near Tirupparankunram. Since

1. *Vide* S.G. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 140, n. 2.

2. R. Orme: *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 423.

he felt that his army was not strong enough to storm the place he sent for Captain Caillaud who was at Trichinopoly to come to his aid. Caillaud tried negotiations with the rebels but failed. Then a desultory war began. In May 1757 Captain Caillaud made an attempt at scaling the walls but was unsuccessful. The enemy who was alerted began to shower on the whole party arrows, stones, lances and the shot of fire-arms. Caillaud ordered the retreat but in July renewed the attack at the same place. The few who managed to scramble up the breach to the rampart were immediately tumbled down dead or mortally wounded. "Whosoever mounted afterwards came down without getting to the top.....for, besides the shower of other annoyance, the enemy had prepared bags and pipkins filled with mere powder, to which they set fire as they tossed them down on the heads of the assailants and the scorch of the explosion was inevitable and intolerable."[1] Finally Caillaud ordered the retreat. Caillaud's own opinion about the affair is summed up in his remarks, "made a breach, attacked it and got a damnable drubbing."[2]

Eventually there were negotiations and on the 8th September the city of Madurai was given up to Caillaud on his paying the rebels Rs. 1,70,000 which was sanctioned by the Madras Council.[3]

The capture of Madurai did not lead to the complete restoration of order. There was the question of the efficient administration of the province. Disturbancess still continued in many parts of the Madurai country. At this time Haidar Ali of Mysore who invaded the Madurai country, towards the end of 1757, marched from Dindigul and took the fort of Solavandan. He spent several days under the walls of the city of Madurai but did not attack it since he found it to be much stronger than he had expected. He plundered the country round about. Then he was beaten back by Yusuf Khan.

Yusuf Khan made arrangements for the restoration of the temple lands to the seven temples. Purificatory ceremonies were performed and *pūjas* and services were restored. 12,000 *pon* was

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1. R. Orme : op. *cit.*, Vol. II, p. 225.

2. R. Orme: *Collection of Manuscripts in the India Office* (Ms. No. 31) quoted in Hill's *Yusuf Khan*, p. 68.

3. R. Orme: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 239; S.C. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 69.

given for the annual expenses of the temple. The *fakir's nisān* was pulled down and he was driven beyond the walls of the town.

Yusuf Khan was able to reduce the country and restore some semblance of order but whenever he was absent there was disorder and anarchy. In April 1759 Yusuf Khan was sent back to the Madurai country. Both Madurai and Tinnevelly were rented out to him for an annual sum of Rs. 5 lakhs. Soon he reduced the *Kaḷḷans* and the Poligars[1] and restored order. Yusuf Khan had been appointed the renter of Madurai contrary to the wishes of the Nawab of Arcot. The Company repeatedly tried to persuade the Nawab to confirm Yusuf Khan in the rentership but the Nawab was highly reluctant and unwilling to continue Yusuf Khan in the management of the Madurai country. In January 1762 the Nawab agreed to let Yusuf Khan have the rentership for nine lakhs. Though the Company informed Yusuf Khan that he should pay the rents to the Nawab he continued to make the payments to the Company since he distrusted the Nawab and did not like the position of being a servant of the Nawab.

Shortly afterwards Yusuf Khan threw off his allegiance to the English and the Nawab and began to collect troops. In February 1763 the British first heard of Yusuf Khan's public declaration that he had allied with the French. He had also hoisted French colours on his forts and hauled down the English colours.[2]

In August 1763 a strong force was sent by the English under Preston to put down the rebel. After taking the forts of Tiruvadavur and Tirumohur, Preston came in sight of Madurai on the 28th of August and found Yusuf Khan's army outside the walls and the French colours as well as those of Yusuf Khan flying over the walls[3]. In September the English began their siege of the fort of Madurai.

Col. Monson who attacked Madurai in 1763 A.D. was repulsed in his first attempt at reconnoitring. Besides, the cavalry and *Kallans* of Yusuf Khan made it difficult to approach near enough

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1. Nelson: *Madura Country*, pp. 280, 290.
2. S.C. Hill : *Yusuf Khan*, p. 184.
3. *Ibid*, p. 148.

to the town to begin the siege works. The great extent of the glacis and esplanade made it impossible for the British to fix their camp nearer than 2½ or even 3 miles. Nor could they break ground for the trenches closer than 12 or 1500 yards[1]. But when they did cut trenches and begin operations they had to cross a ditch which Monson, after repeated reconnoitrings, thought was impossible to cross. So in October he withdrew his forces from Madurai. "Thus ended the first siege of Madurai, undertaken in almost absolute ignorance of the difficulties of the undertaking" and though the failure was attributed to lack of ammunition there was really no basis for it and "one can only conclude that the ability and strength of Yusuf Khan had been grievously under-rated."[2]

The siege of Madurai was recommenced by Major Campbell in February 1764. Yusuf Khan had made great additions to the fort and had outposts to a considerable distance. Though the English made many attempts to breach the walls and scale them they were repulsed every time and while the siege was thus hanging on, Marchand, the French Commander under Yusuf Khan, rebelled and treacherously handed over the brave Muslim General into the hands of the British on the night of 14th October and on 15th October 1764 Yusuf Khan was hanged[3]. Thus ended the protracted siege of Madurai, treachery succeeding where valour failed.

After the death of Yusuf Khan the revenue administration of Madurai was carried on for about six years by one Abiral Khan Sahib[4]. From now onwards a number of persons successively administered the Madurai country[5] till the final cession to the British in 1801 A.D.

In 1781 A.D. the revenues of the district of Madurai were assigned to the British by the Nawab of Arcot and a "Receiver of

1. S.G. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 152.

2. *Ibid*, p. 160.

3. S.G. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-26.

4. The *Maduraittalavaralaru* calls him Mammadu (Mahomed) Abdudullukhan Sayabu and says that he ruled for seven years.

5. The *Maduraittalavaralaru* gives a list of their names along with the period of their administration.

Assigned Revenue" was appointed. The first Receiver sent to Madurai was Mr. George Proctor who was virtually the first Collector. In 1783 he was succeeded by Mr. Eyles Irwin.

In order to restore order before efficient administration could be carried on, Colonel Fullarton undertook an expedition against the Madurai country in 1783 A.D. He subdued the poligars of Melur and Sivaganga and then went to Tinnevelly where most of the fighting took place.

In 1785 the assignment of the revenues was given back to the Nawab of Arcot but again resumed by the British in 1790 A.D. A Board of Assumed Revenue was set up and Collectors were appointed for the various districts. Mr. Alexander McLeod became the Collector of Dindigul in 1790. In 1792, according to the terms of the treaty which concluded the Second Mysore War, the province of Dindigul was ceded to the East India Company.

In 1801 when a junior member of the family was raised to the Nawabship of Arcot, the English entered into an agreement with him. By this he handed over to the Company in perpetuity "the sole and exclusive administration of the Civil and Military Governments of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic". In this way the whole of the Madurai district (except Dindigul which had already been acquired), along with the rest of the Carnatic was formally ceded to the British[1].

1. Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.* (1892), viii, p. 56.

CHAPTER X

THE MADURAI TEMPLE

A. TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

The legendary origin of the temple leads one to the discovery by Indra of the *Swayambhu linga* in the Kadamba forest and its installation in the *Indravimāna* by him. Ever since the temple has been in continuous worship and has grown to be the enormous complex it is today.

In the early period the temple might have been of moderate proportions confined to the *Āgamic* essential structures for any temple like the *garbhagriha, ardha mandapa,* kitchen, *yāgasāla,* tank and so on. From this nucleus the temple must have grown by later additions like *mahā mandapa,* subsidiary shrines and *prākāras.* The earliest indirect literary reference to the temple occurs in the *Maduraikkanci* where it is stated that the evening procession of the gods was headed by the God who had the axe (*maḻu*) and who was the Creator of the five elements. The reference to temple processions necessarily shows an organised temple worship and temple structures. Probably by this time the temple had become well established, with a regular routine of festivals, *pūjas,* and so on.

In the 7th century A.D. Jñānasambandar sang many hymns in praise of the "Ālavāy Iraivan" and "Tiruvālavāy Sokkan" at Madurai. By the 7th century the legend of the Ālavāy serpent fixing the boundaries of the Madurai city appears to have been well known. Further, the term Ālavāy to denote the city of Madurai seems to have become well established by then. One finds that throughout the centuries, the deity of the Madurai temple is called Tiruvālavāyudaiya Nāyanār (or Tambirānār) in the temple epigraphs and records. The *Kallādam,* a work of about the 9th century A.D., refers to the Madurai temple and nearly 30 *līlās* performed by God Sundaresvara. It mentions the *Indravimāna* with the *aṣṭagajas* and says that the God of Ālavāy who is called the *Mūlakāraṇan* resided there with Goddess Umā.

In other early works the God of Tiruvālavāy is generally referred to as Sokkar or Sokkanātha, while the term Sundareśvara is found in later works. Even in Jesuit letters the temple is called the Cokkanātha Temple. Goddess Mīnākṣi is referred to as Angayarkkaṇṇammai in early works. Mediaeval epigraphs from the Madurai temple mention the Tirukkāmakkoṭṭattu Āḻudaiya Nācciyār. This is apparently a reference to Goddess Mīnākṣi.

It is only in more recent times that the temple has come to be popularly known as the Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara temple or even more briefly as Mīnākṣi temple. This does not, however, mean that Mīnākṣi Amman came into prominence only in recent times. The very legendary origin of the temple is based on Mīnākṣi's rule and the marriage of Mīnākṣi and Sundaresvara.

From available literary and inscriptional references one may conclude that the temple has enjoyed a continuous existence almost from the beginning of the Christian era, though, of course, restored, repaired and extended by the several rulers of the country.

The temple has gone through many vicissitudes. It was despoiled by Muhammadans during Malik Kafur's invasion in 1310 A.D. and again later during the Sultanate period when much havoc was done. On a third occasion the Muhammadans occupied the temple itself.

These raids and destructions caused the disappearance of many of the older parts of the temple. When the temple came to be rebuilt in between the raids and finally after the restoration of Hindu monarchy after about 1370 A.D., that is, about the end of the 14th century A.D., it was almost entirely a new structure, though the old and the new got mixed up in several places in the temple complex. This is evident when one examines in detail carefully the several *mandapas*, corridors and shrines. One could easily see the great mix-up that has taken place. This was perhaps due to the fact that the people who restored or built anew, found many of the relics of Muslim vandalism handy enough to be used as they were. This led to different styles of pillars and other architectural features being used in a single structure.

It is usual to say that the Madurai temple is largely built at one time and is, therefore, typical of the architectural style of the

period. Many writers also refer to Tirumala Nayaka as the one who had contributed on the largest scale to the temple buildings. Tirumala Nayaka was no doubt a great builder. But there have been other rulers of the dynasty who have contributed as much, if not more, as Tirumala Nayaka himself. Virappa Nayaka, (1572-95 A.D.), for instance had made significant additions to the great temple. Some of his major contributions are the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*, the north *gopura* and the older portions of the *kambattadi mandapa*.

The later additions like the *gopuras* and corridors being on an impressive scale dominate the earlier, though smaller, edifices that many people overlook them and attribute the temple to a late period. When one examines the various parts of the temple in detail one may be better able to appreciate the older vestiges still remaining in the temple.

The present temple occupies the centre of the city The temple is almost a regular rectangle, two of its sides from north to south measure 720 feet and 729 feet, the two east to west sides measure 834 feet and 852 feet[1]. It is a double shrine, as it is called, one devoted to God Sundaresvara and the other to His Consort, Goddess Minakṣi. The two shrines face east, the Amman shrine being to the south of that of the God. Besides the two shrines, a third prominent feature of the temple is the Golden Lily Tank which lies to the east of the Amman shrine. Most of the main *mandapas* occupy the area between the eastern outermost wall and the two sanctums. A tall *gopura* dominates each of the four outer walls. The main entrance is on the eastern wall. A subsidiary entrance known as the *Aṣṭaśakti Mandapa* is at the present day used as the principal entrance. The eastern *gopura*, for some unaccountable reason, is seldom used by the public. The *Aṣṭaśakti Mandapa* could be considered as the entrance to the Amman shrine with which it is in an axially direct line.

From the *Aṣṭaśakti Mandapa* one enters the large five aisled *Minākṣi Nāyaka Mandapa*. West of this is the *Citra Gopura*. The *Citra Gopura* which is seven-storeyed, is the tallest

1. J. Fergusson : *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 392.

gopuras. A somewhat dark passaage known as *Mudali Mandapa* leads from the *Citra Gopura* to the *Citra Mandapa* which surrounds the Golden Lily Tank or *Porrāmarai* Tank. The north and east walls of this colonnade contain modern paintings relating to the 64 *lilas* of the *Tiruvilaiyadal Purana.* The Golden Lily Tank which measures an area of 120 feet by 170 feet is one of the most beautiful of temple tanks. From the northern side of the *Citra Mandapa* a splendid view of the tank and the south *Gopura* which is just beyond its south-west corner could be had. The *Porrāmarai* tank is as old as the *Svayambhu Linga* (God Sundaresvara) and prominently figures in the legends connected with the origin of the shrine. On the western side is a small *mandapa* which projects over the steps of the tank. This is known popularly as *Mangammāḷ Mandapa.* The western side of the Golden Lily Tank has also the *Mutharli* (*Muttirulāyi* ?) *Mandapa,* the *Ennaikāppu* (or *ūnjal*?) *Mandapa,* an unidentified *mandapa* between *Mangammāḷ Mandapa* and the *Ennaikāppu Mandapa.* North-west of the Golden Lily Tank is the famous *Kilikatti Mandapa* lying north-south in front of the Amman Sannidhi *gopura.*

At the southern end of the *Kilikatti Mandapa,* close to the eastern wall of the Amman Sannidhi second *prākāra,* is the shrine of Siddhi Vināyakar, who is the Sthala Vighnesvara. Further to the north of this shrine is the Amman Sannidhi *gopura* in line with the *Citra Gopura.* The *Sannidhi gopura* leads to the second *prākāra* (225 feet × 150 feet) of the Amman shrine. Facing the *gopura* is the *ārukāl pīṭha* of the shrine. At the south-east corner of this corridor is the stucco figure of Tirumala Nayaka and his queens facing the *Kolu Mandapa* in the south-west corner at the other end of the southern *prākāra.* The *Navarātri* festival is celebrated in this *mandapa.* To the north of the *Kolu Mandapa* is the *Kadaka Gopura,* entrance through which is now blocked. On the other side of the *Kadaka gopura* in the north-west corner of the *prākāra* is the Kūdal Kumāra shrine. Passing along the north corridor and returning to the east side of the second *prakara,* and mounting the *ārukāl pīṭha* one enters the first *prakara* (125 feet by 70 feet) of the Amman shrine with its *mahā mandapa.* The *Palliyarai* is on the north side of this *mandapa.* The sanctum occupies the western half of the enclosure within this *prākāra.* Outside the south

wall of the second *prakara* of the Minakṣi shrine is the Javandisvara shrine and *mandapa* situated in a garden.

From the *Kilikatti Mandapa* one could enter the Svami shrine through the *nadu kattu gopura*. In the second *prākāra* (420 feet x 320 feet) of the Svami shrine is a huge figure of Vighnesvara popularly known as Mukkuruṇi Piḷḷaiyār. On the western side of the second *prākāra* is the *Pālaka gopura* and a number of *Isvarams* or subsidiary shrines. In the north-west corner of this *prākāra* is the Sangattār temple and further down in the north corridor is the Kariyamānikka temple and its *mandapa* which reaches up to the *cinna mottai gopura* on the north wall of this *prākāra*. In the north-east corner is the *Mandapa Nāyaka Mandapa* or Hundred Pillar *Mandapa* with a Sabhāpati shrine. In front of the *Mandapa Nayaka Mandapa* in the eastern *prākāra* is the famous *kambattadi mandapa* with its Nandi shrine and iconographic sculptures on pillars between the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* and the *sannidhi gopura*. In the south-east corner is Jnānasambandar temple.

The first *prakara* (250 feet x 150 feet) of the Svami shrine is entered through the *sannidhi gopura* and in the cloisters abutting the south wall of this *prākāra* are the images of the 63 Saiva saints (*Aruvattumūvar*). Facing the south corridor at its western end is the Madura Nayakar shrine where the *utsavar* or processional image of God Sundaresvara is enshrined. On the north side of this *prākāra* is the *Ellām Valla* Siiddhar shrine close to the sanctum, and the Kadamba stump. On the eastern *prākāra* is the Svami Sannidhi *ārukāl pīṭha* which leads to the *maha mandapa*. The *Velliyambala Sabhā* with Nataraja dancing on his left leg is in this *mandapa*. The Sundaresvarar sanctum is next to the *ardha mandapa*.

Leaving the Svami shrine through the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura* one enters the large court wherein a number of *mandapas* are to be seen. Close to the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* on the south side of the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura* is the *kalyāna mandapa*. The Subbarāyar Mandapa is between this *mandapa* and the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura*. The large *Vīravasantarāya Mandapa* lies between the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura* and the East *gopura*. To the north of the *Vīravasantarāya Mandapa* is the beautiful Thousand Pillar *mandapa* with its numerous sculptured pillars and its Nataraja

shrine. South of the *Vīravasantarāya Mandapa* are the Mutturama Aiyar, Kalyana Sundara Mudaliyar and Servaikar *mandapas.*

Passing out through the east *gopura* into the street, one comes upon the well-knwon *Pudu Mandapa* built by Tirumala Nayaka. Beyond the *Pudu Mandapa* almost in a line with it and further to its east is the unfinished *Raja Gopura* which leads to the Elukadal and the Kancanamāla shrine still further east. A few other minor structures to be mentioned are the Padinettāmbadiyān or Karuppannasvami shrine and the Madurai Vīran shrine on the east wall between the *Aṣṭasakti Mandapa* and the east *gopura* and the Mottai Gopurattān shrine at the foot of the north *gopura.* Opposite the *Aṣṭasakti Mandapa* is the *Nagarā Mandapa* which leads to the *Vitta Vāsal* which is stated to have run up as far as the gateway of the east wall of the Pandya fortress of the olden days.

A BRIEF SURVEY : Dravidian temple architecture falls into five well-recognised evolutionary periods, the Pallava, the Gola, the Pandya, Vijayanagar and Madurai or modern periods. The Madurai Temple belongs to the last three periods, namely, the Pandya, Vijayanagar and Madurai periods. The surviving examples of the Pandya period are very few in number and are fragmentary but the Madurai temple itself with its *prākāras* and high towers is the culmination of the architecture of the Pandya period. The bases of the east and west *gopuras*, the *kadaka* and *palaka gopuras* and some of the shrines retain Pandya features. The Madurai temple has both styles of *gopuras*, the earlier type with straight corner edges and the later ornate type with curved edges. All the inner *gopuras* are of the first type while the outer *gopuras* belong to the latter class. It should also be noted that much of the restoration on the *gopuras* is confined to the outer face which was the one to be damaged most and that the inner core retains the original features in most of them.

The Vijayanagara style which is knwon for its exuberant and florid manner of decoration became sobered in Madurai and the pillars of the Vijayanagara period in the Madurai temple show this change. For instance, the massive pillar with a slender bulbous column distinct from it but still carved on a single stone became attached to the cubical pillar in Madurai as a solid square without

any space between them. Similarly the peculiar pillar with a central column and groups of slender columnettes round it which was such a characteristic feature of the Vijayanagara works is almost absent in Madurai. The only examples of this pillar in the temple are the so-called Musical Pillars and two specimens in the Thousand Pillar *mandapa*. *Mandapas* and *mandapa* pillars were the prominent architectural features of the Vijayanagara period. The numerous *mandapas* erected in the Madurai temple reveal the distinguishing characteristics of this period. In all these one finds the *yāḷi* pillar which the Vijayanagara builders favoured so much. It is only in the corridors and *mandapas* of the succeeding epoch, the Madurai period, that one finds the equestrian motif also on these pillars.

Most of the late 16th century and 17th century structures belong to the Madurai or modern period, of which the best known example is the *Pudu Mandapa*. The *Rayagopura*, the south and north *gopuras* also belong to this period. Many of these evolutionary changes in style are noticeable in the great temple complex of Madurai.

2. OUTER GOPURAS

The four main outer *gopuras* on the east, west, north and south of the Madurai temple have a singular beauty and grace of their own. They have won the admiration of the visitor and the appreciation of the critic. Many temple *gopuras* lack in architectural proportion or artistic embellishments. They are either too wide or too narrow in proportion to their height. The builders of the Madurai temple had a fine sense of artistry and the towering outer *gopuras* are standing monuments to their genius.

THE EAST GOPURA : The base of the east *gopura* like those of the three other towers is a stone structure consisting of two storeys, a ground floor storey and an upper storey. In the centre of the base is the projecting portico. The height of the entrance runs to the top level of the stone base. Over the entrance is the main *śālai* flanked on either side with the usual order of *sālai*, *pancaram* and *kūṭa* with a recess between each as on most of the Dravidian *gopuras*. A detailed examination of the four outer *gopuras* of the Madurai temple would show that though they maintain this general

scheme of *kuta*, *pancaram* and *sālai*, yet their style of ornamentation differs to some extent. thus revealing subtle changes in their evolution. They differ from each other in a minor key but in their over all size and shape they are in consonance. All the outer *gopuras* are nine storeys high reaching a height of nearly 150 feet each and all of them have their sloping sides not straight but curved and concave. "A soaring upward sweep which, although not entirely substantial, is very impressive."[1]

The east *gopura* is considered to be the oldest among the outer *gopuras* but very few vestiges of the earlier structure are in existence today. The east *gopura* seems to have suffered the most damage as may be seen from the condition in which some of its older parts appear today. It is on the ground floor storey of the base that some of these early vestiges are seen check by jowl with later repaired work. The *devakōṣtas*, wall niches and *kūdus* are all in a much damaged state.

The door of the east *gopura* of which only one leaf is in position today is a huge specimen (about 35 feet) running the whole height of the entrance way and is a remarkable example of the wood carver's art.

The brick superstructure repeats the *kūdu*, *pancaram* and *sālai* motif in all its nine tiers. Much of the older stucco figures have been replaced by modern figures many of which relate to the *Tiruvilaīyādal* legends This *gopura* with its well-marked vertical and horizontal divisions is a very imposing pile.

Inside the entrance to the east *gopura* or *Kīlaigopura* are two inscriptions. In one of them the *gopuram* is called "*Tribhuvanacakravarti koneri(n)maikkondān Sundarapandiyan tirukkopuram.*"[2] The other record calls it "*(Tribhuva) nacakravarti koneri (n) maikondan Avanivēndarāman tirukkopurm*"[3] *Avanivēndarāman* was one of the surnames of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. 1256 A.D.). The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 3) says that the Svami shrine

1. Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, page 107.
2. M.E.R. 286 of 1942.
3. M.E.R. 285 of 1942.

nine-storeyed *gopura* was built by Sundara Pandya in S. 1140 (1218 A.D.). The *Tiruppani malai*[1] says that the Sundara Pandya *gopura* was built by Sundara Pandyan. The *Sritala* says that the Sannidhi big *gopura* was built by Sundara Pandya. There are also two fish crests in this east *gopura*. All these evidences and the architectural features of the *gopura* lead to the conclusion that Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. 1256 A.D.) was probably the builder of this *gopura*.

In the second storey of the east *gopura* there are four inscriptions on five pillars, belonging to the second year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (acc. 1190)[2], the tenth[3] and fifteenth[4] years of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. 1216 A.D.) and the second year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (acc. 1238 A.D.)[5] whose eulogies began with *Pūtalavanitai*. The presence of these pillars with earlier inscriptions probably indicate that the *gopura* might have been begun by some earlier Pandya ruler and finished during the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. 1256 A.D.). These inscriptions also push the date of the temple to a period anterior to the end of the 12th century. The inscription of the second year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara[6] is the earliest so far copied in the Madurai temple.

WEST GOPURA : The west *gopura* also has many relics of an older structure mainly noticeable on the ground floor of its base. The *adhiṣṭhāna* of this *gopura* is buried below the surface of the earth as the road level has considerably risen in later times.

The whole surface of this structure is covered with stucco figures of legendary and iconographic nature. Notable among these are the stucco figure of the "Churning of the Ocean" and figures of *Ṛṣabhārūdar*.

The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 6) says that the Adi Street nine-storeyed west *gopura* was built by Parākrama Pandya in about

1. Verse 7.
2. M.E.R. 62 of 1905
3. M.E.R. 60 of 1905
4. M.E.R. 61 of 1905.
5. M.E.R. 59 of 1905.
6. M.E.R. 62 of 1905.

1323 A.D. The *Tiruppanimālai*[1] also states that the *gopura* was built by Parakrama Pandya. Inside the entrance of the *gopura* are a Pandya fish crest and an inscription[2] in verse in praise of Parakrama Pandya. Architecturally the *gopura* may be assigned to about the 14th century A.D. During the 14th century there were several Pandya kings, with the name Parākrama Pandya[3]. It is not known which of these rulers was the builder of the west *gopura*.

SOUTH GOPURA: Owing to its picturesque situation near the Golden Lily Tank the south *gopura* is the most photographed of all the *gopuras* of the Madurai temple. Structurally it is also one of the most beautiful. The two tiers of its high stone base are well proportioned to each other and are of an imposing appearance. The intervals between projecting bays and recesses are well spaced and architecturally the whole structure is in very good taste. The entire construction is perhaps of late 16th century with late Vijayanagar and early Madurai or Nayaka characteristics. All the wall pilasters of the south *gopura* have the Vijayanagar type of squatting lions at their base.

The brick superstructure is of singular beauty though myriads of stucco figures hide its architectural construction. The sloping edge has a more concave sweeping curve than in the other three *gopuras*. This gives it a peculiar elegance which is admirable

Architecturally the south *gopura* may be assigned to about the latter half of 16th century). The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 12) says that the Ādi Street south nine-storeyed *gopura* was built by Sirāmalai Sevvandi in about 1478 A.D. The *Tiruppanimālai*[4] also says that the *gopura* was built by Sirāmalai Sevvandi. The *Srīṭāla* calls the *gopura* "*paṉiyārakkaḍai gopura*" and says that Periya Śivandi lingam Setti built it. The Sevvandi family of Trichinopoly have contribted much to the architecture of the Madurai temple. While Sirāmalai Sevvandi might have been the builder of the south

1. Verse 12.

2. M.E.R. 58 of 1905.

3. Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya (I) (acc. 1315 A.D.); Maravarman Parakrama Pandya (acc. 1335 A.D.); Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya (II) (acc. 1357 A.D.); the Tenkasi ruler, Parakrama Pandya who renovated the shrine at Kuttalam near Tenkasi, in about 1387 A.D.

4. Verse 27. In the footnote the editor gives the date as 1559 A.D.

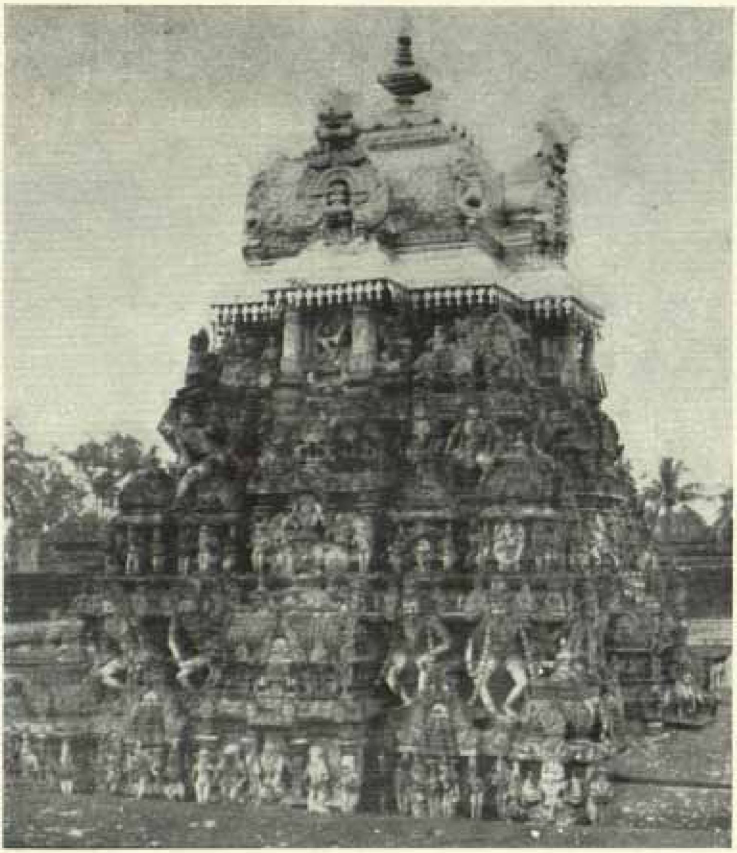
gopura, the date given by the *Tiruppani Vivaram* seems rather early by about a century.

NORTH GOPURA: The north *gopura* is also of the *uttama* class measuring nine storeys high. Till recent years it was without the *sikhara* or roof and was therefore called the *mottai gopuram*, that is, the bald-headed *gopura*. It is still known as the *mottai gopuram* though it has now got a *sikhara* roof which was built by Nāttukkottai Settis about the end of the last century. The stone base of the *gopura* is in two tiers as on the other *gopuras*. While the style and scheme of construction are more akin to the south *gopura*, it may be noted that both these *gopuras* have not the simplicity and robustness of the base of the east *gopura*. The ornamentation is more delicate and modern. One noticeable feature on this *goupra* is that the *devakoṣṭas* in the ground and upper storeys have semiepilasters at the nich-openings in addition to the usual corner pilasters.

Getting inside one of the storeys of the north *gopora* one learns much about the mode of construction of these *gopuras*. Stone pillars are used on the different floor levels and wooden beams and rafters are used to support the terraces. Wooden corbels cut in the same manner as their stone counterparts are found over these stone pillars. Many types of these corbels, from the simple level and tenon type to the Pāndya fluted type are found. The wooden beams and rafters are joined to these corbels by tenon and socket. The stone pillars at the front of the opening have a bulbous capital and a wooden corbel of the early lotus bud type. This *gopura* has cubicles and a carved ceiling with stone jambs similar to those in the south *gopura*.

Architecturally the north *goupra* might be assigned to the 16th-17th century. Literary evidences also support this date and indicate that Kṛṣṇa Virappa, the grandson of Visvanatha Nayaka and the builder of the *Kambattadi Mandapa*, constructed the north *goupra*.[1]

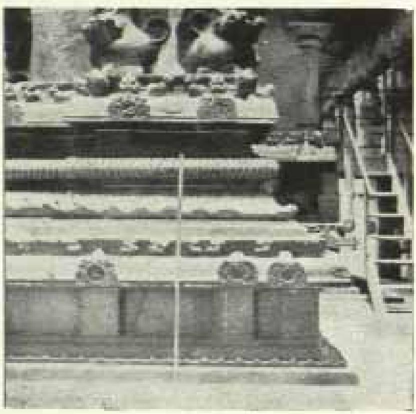
1. *Tiruppani Vivaram* No. 26. It gives the date of construction as 1572 A.D. *Tiruppanimalai*, verse 53; the *Śritala* says that the *periya mottai gopura* was built, by Settis and by Abiṣeka Pandaram. This probably refers to some repairs and reconstruction at a later date.



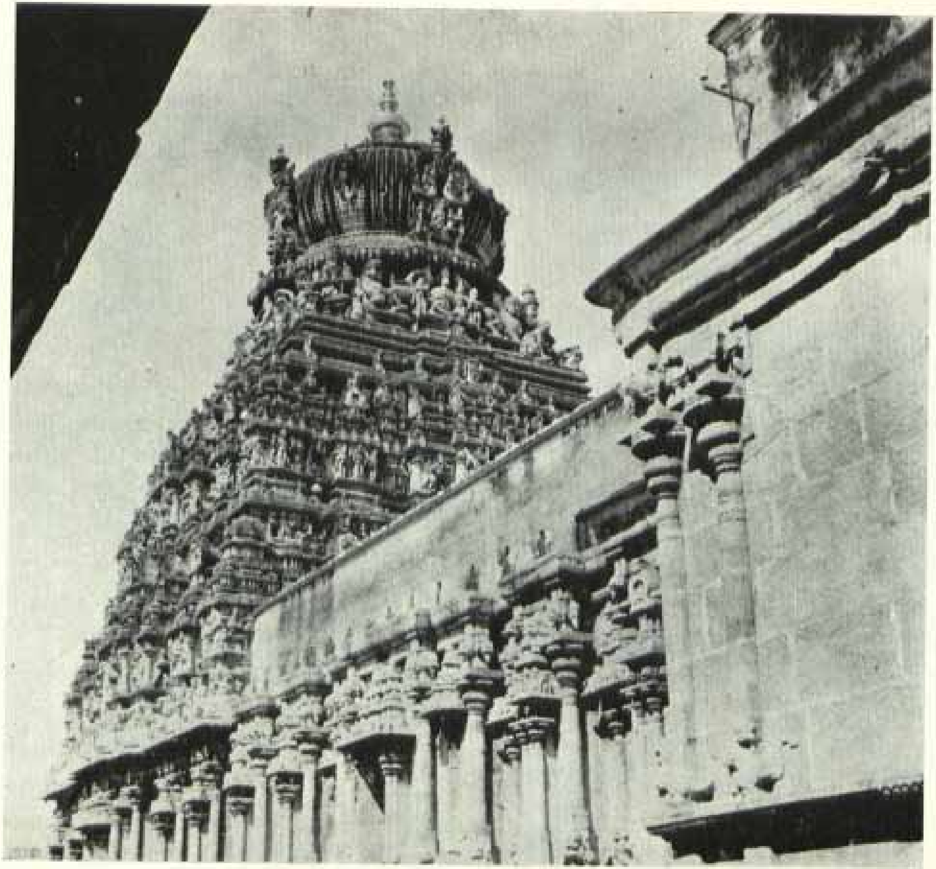
Swâmi Vimâna, Sundaresvara temple, Madurai.



Stone Elephant, Madurai.



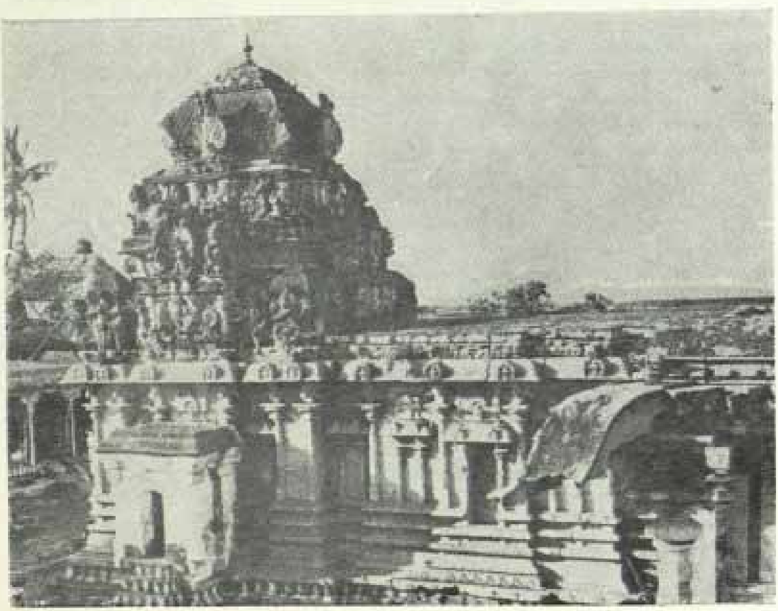
Garbhagruha base, Madurai.



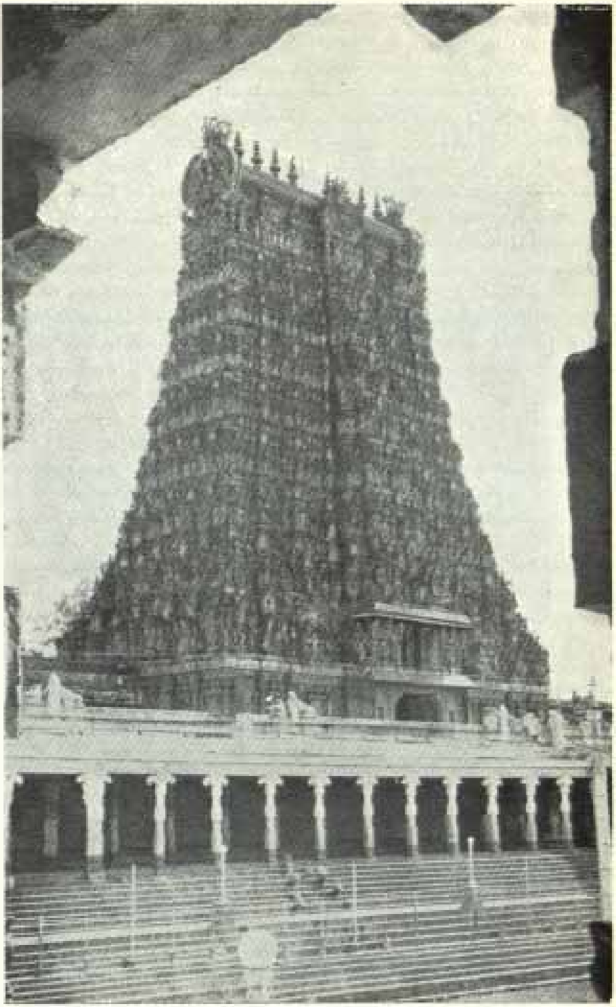
Ashtānga Vimāna, Kūdal Alagar temple, Madurai.



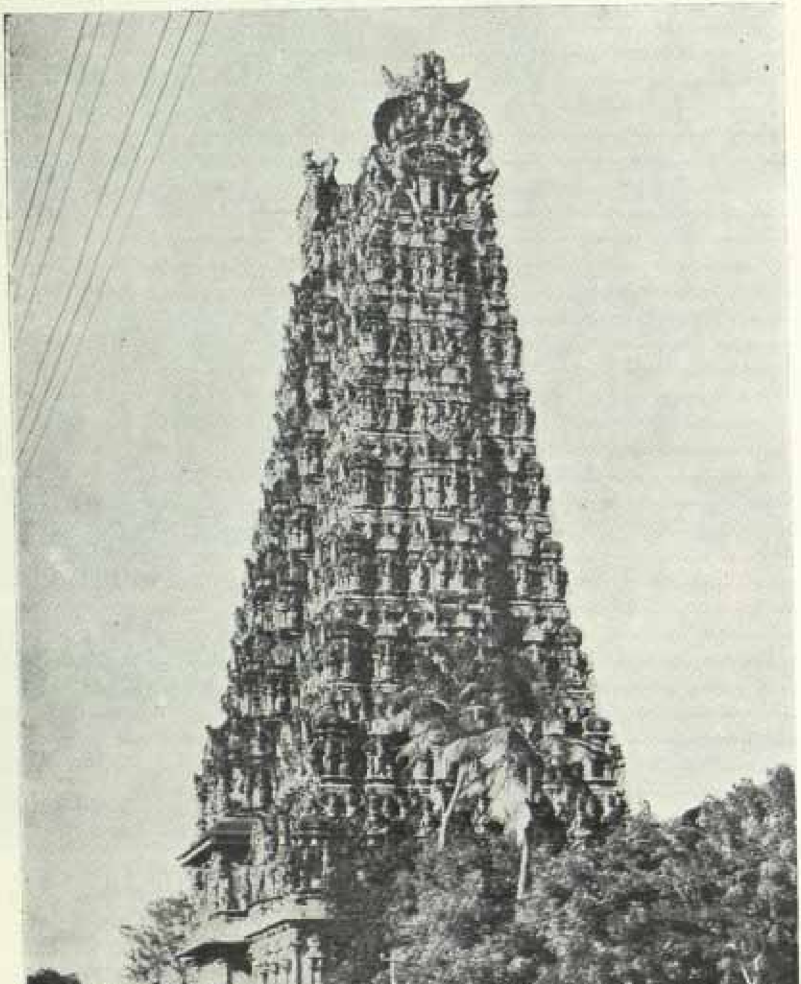
Somachanda Vimāna, Alagarkoil.



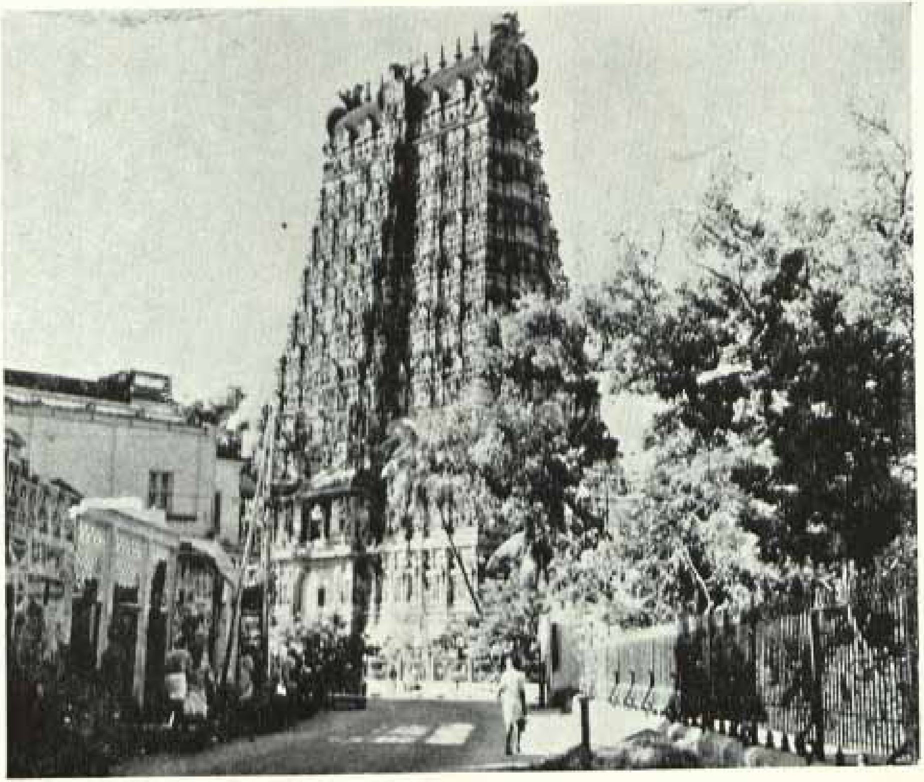
Sanctum tower, Thiruvadavur.



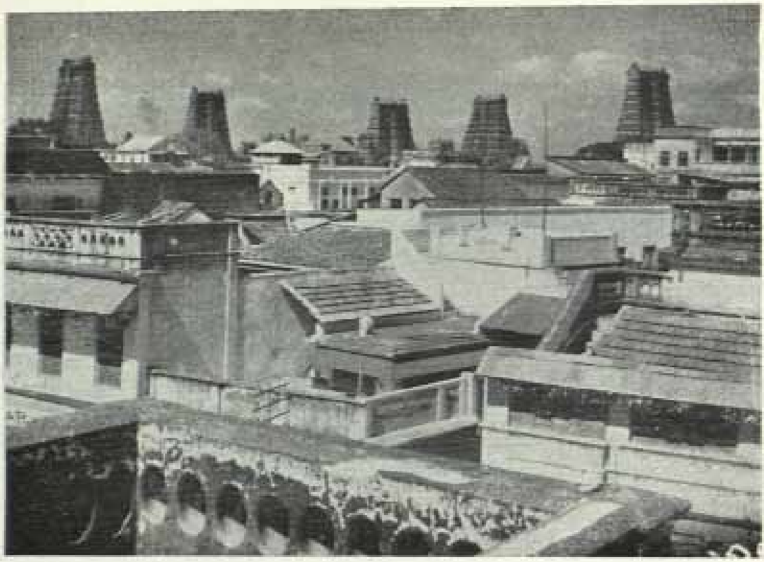
South Gopura, Madurai.



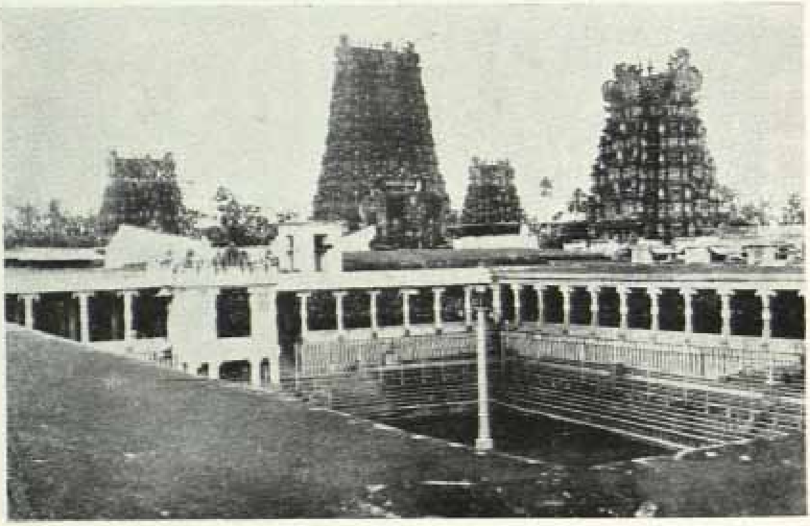
West Gopura, Madurai.



East Gopura, Madurai.



A view of the towers.



A view of the lotus tank and entrance towers.

Stucco figures on the Vimāna (These have since been redone)





A tower of the temple.



South Outer Gopura base.



North Outer Gopura base.



East Outer Gopura base.



West Outer Gopura base.



East Gopura base.



West Gopura base.



Rāya Gopura.



West Outer Gopura base.



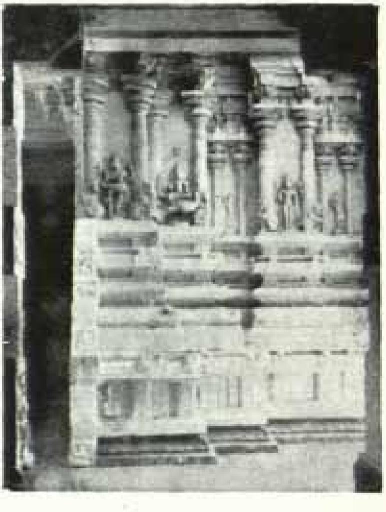
Rāya Gopura.



The small Mottai Gopura.



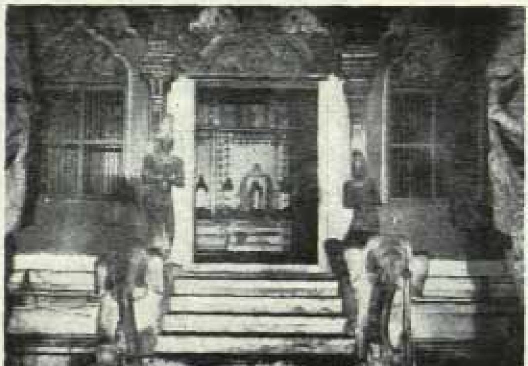
Gopura Nāyaka Gopura.



Naḍukkaṭṭu Gopura.



Entrance—Sangattār temple.



Jnānasambandar temple.



Linga shrine, thousand pillared Maṇḍapam.



Maṇdapa Nāyaka Maṇḍapam



The Water Chute, thousand pillared Maṇḍapam.



Kilikūṭṭu Maṇḍapam.



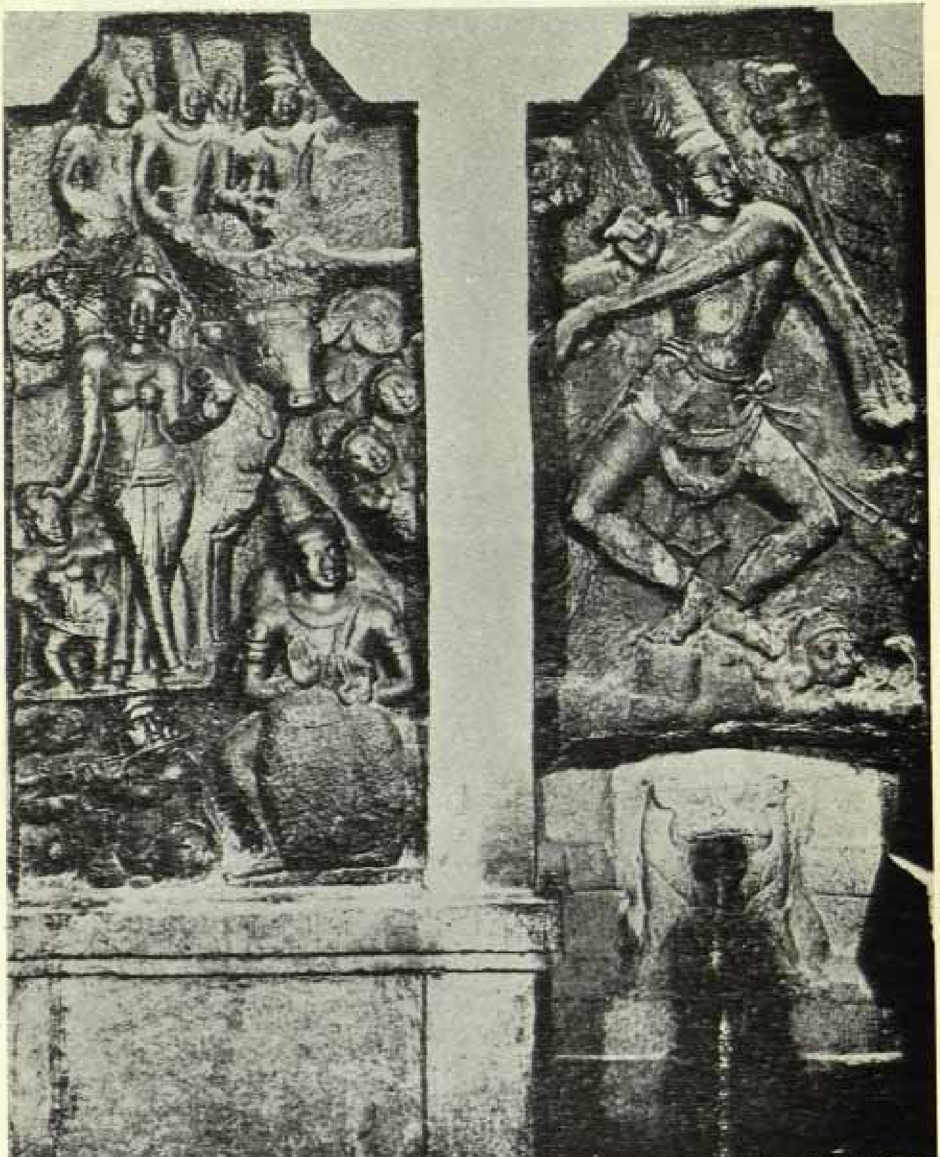
Composite Pillar, Kambattadi Maṇḍapam.



Kambattadi Maṇḍapam, view from North West.



Nandi Shrine—Kambattadi Maṇḍapam.



Siva as the Cosmic dancer and Parvati as the Universal spectator, Rock-cut sculpture in an excavated cave, Thirupparamkunram, near Madurai—8th Century A.D.



Saptamātas—Early Pandya, 8th Century A.D.
(Now in the prākāra of the main temple).



Ugramurti, Thirupparamkunram. 8th Century A.D.



Annapūrna, Thirupparamkunram, 8th Century A.D.



Gajalakshmi, Thirupparamkunram, 8th Century A.D.



Garuda, in the rock-cut cave, Thirupparamkunram.
8th Century A.D.


Tripurāntakamurti, Thousand pillared hall.


A Portrait, Thousand pillared hall.



Manmatha, Thousand pillared hall.



Rathi, Thousand pillared hall.



Ariyanātha mudaliyar? thousand pillared hall.

(This represents Lord Chokkanātha bringing horses; one of the sixty four sports—Editor.)



Eunuch, thousand pillared hall.



A Lady, thousand pillared hall.



Sarasvati, thousand pillared hall.



Nāgarāja, thousand pillared hall.



Dvārapāla, Amman Sannathi.



Horse and Chariot, Hundred Pillared mandapam.



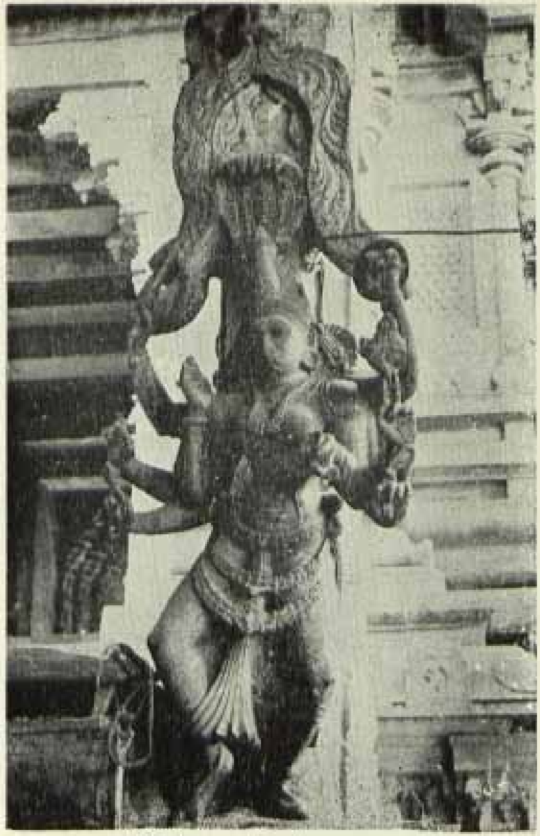
Virabhadra, Thousand pillared hall.



Ihāmrga, Kilikūttu mandapam.



Rudra near Eastern gopura



Kāli near Eastern gopura.


A Sculpture of Kirāta

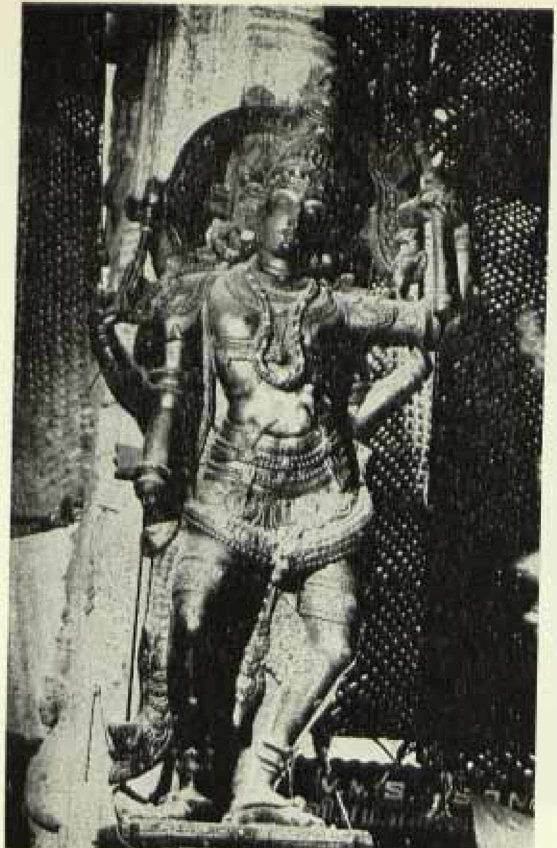

A Sculpture in the 1000 pillared mandapam



Minākshi Kalyānam in Pudumandapam built by Thirumalai Nayak.



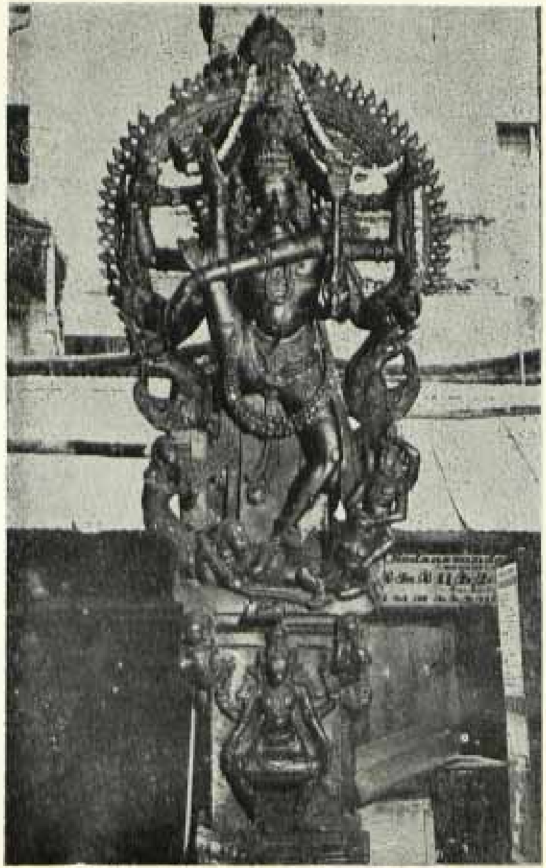
Minâkshi Kalyânam, Kambattadi mandapam.
18th Century A.D.



Sundaresvara, Pudumandapam.



Tatātagai, Pudumandapam.



Ūrdhva Tāndava, Pudumandapam.



Kāli, Pudumandapam.



Tripurântaka, Pudumandapam.



Queen Mangammal and Vijaya Ranga
Chokkanātha Nāyaka, Thirupparamkunram.



Deivayānai Kalyānam, Thirupparamkunram.



Vishnu, Annakkuli
Mandapam.



Vyāgrapādar, Annakkuli
Mandapam.



A King, Annakkuli
Mandapam.



A queen, Annakkuli
Mandapam.



Patanjali, Annakkuli
Mandapam.



Brahmâ, Annakkuli
Mandapam.



Chouri bearer Annakkuli
Mandapam.



Pândya, Annakkuli
Mandapam.

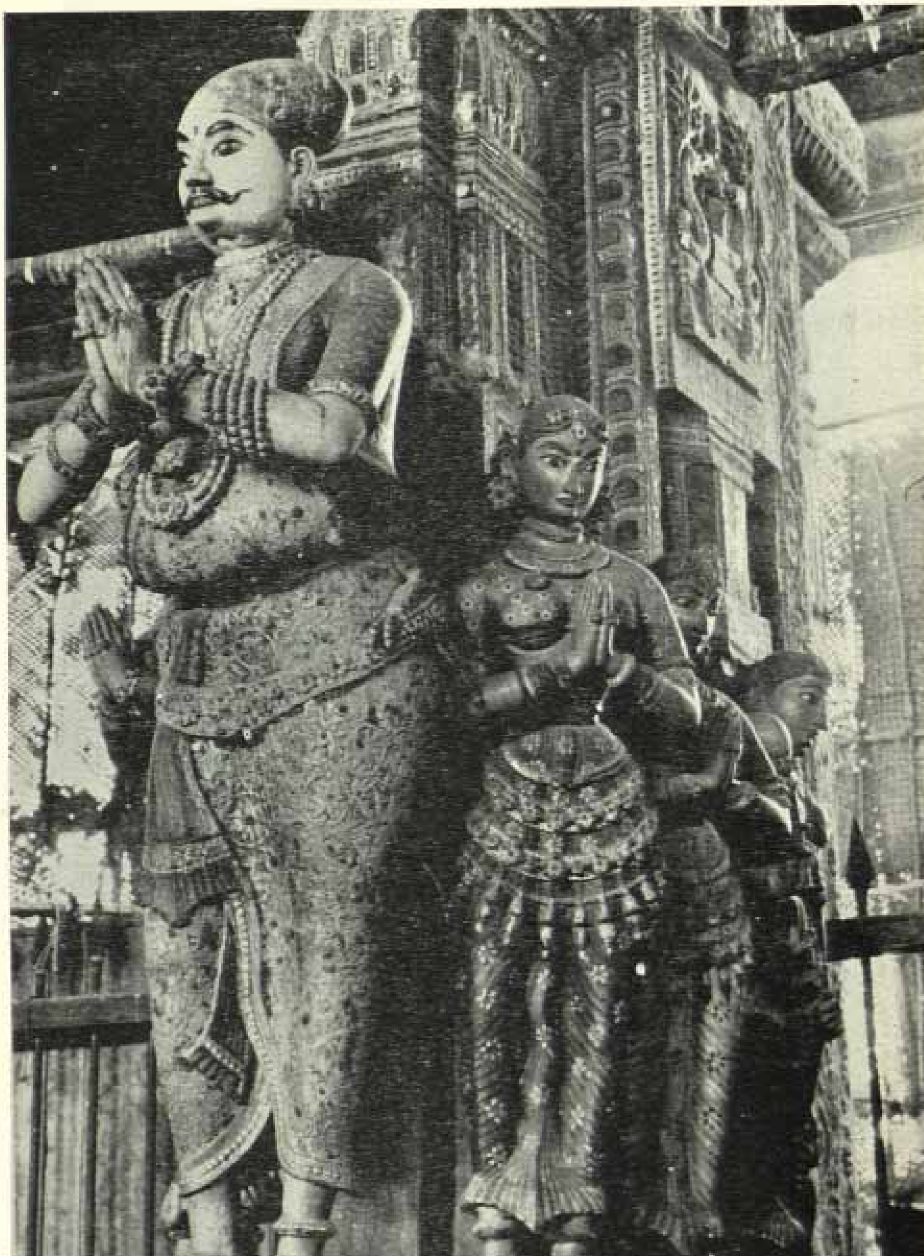
The Annakkuli mandapam has since been pulled down.



Portrait of a Nayak, Pudumandapam.



Portrait of a Nayak, Pudumandapam.



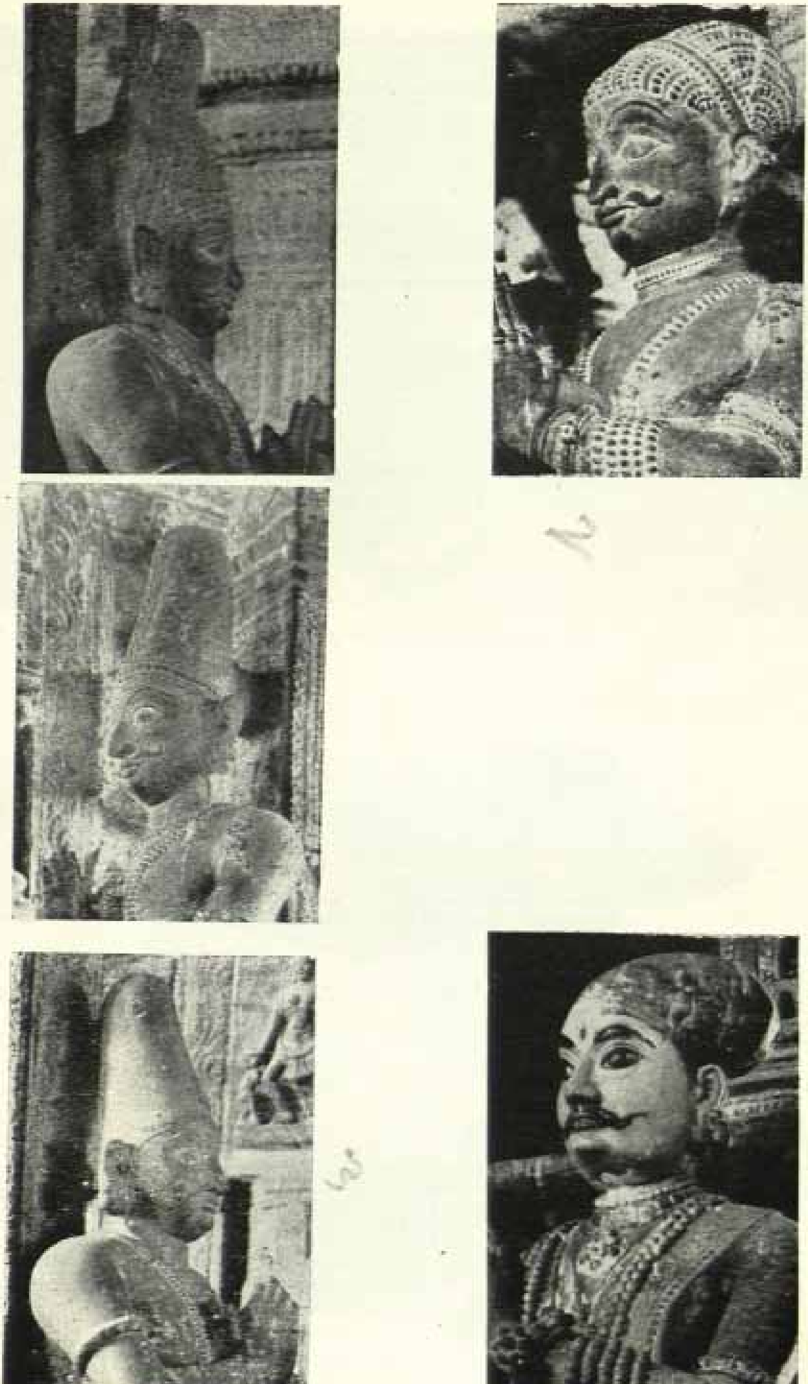
Tirumalai Nāyaka with his queens, Pudumandapam.







Portraits of Nayaks, Madurai.



Portraits of Nayaks, Madurai.



Portraits of Marudu brothers.



A sculpture of a horse rider, Thirupparamkunram.



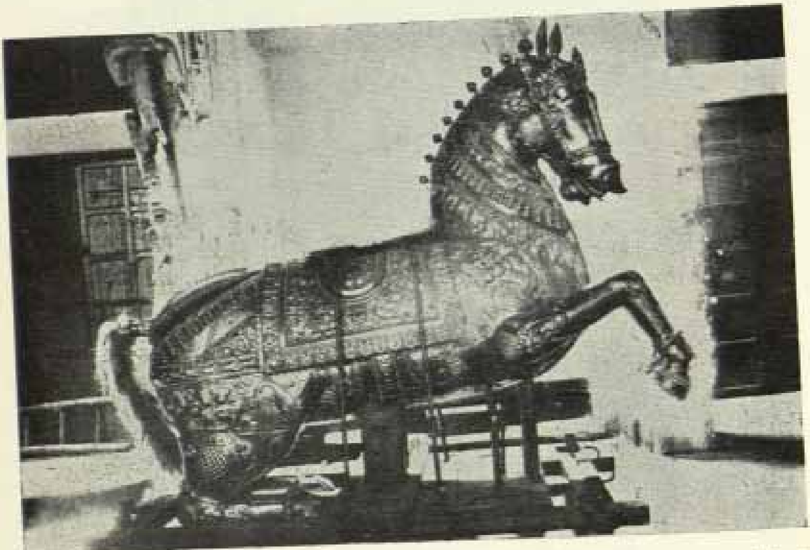
Bronze images, Nāyaka period.



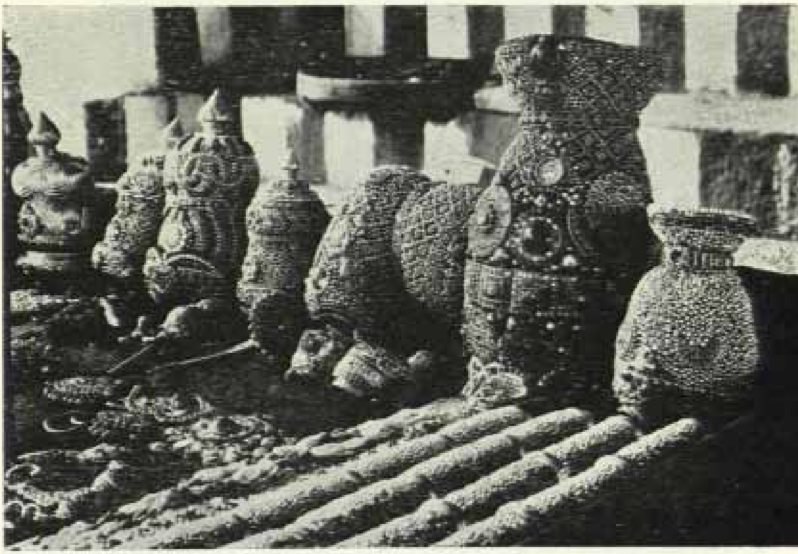
Bronze images, Nāyaka period, Madurai.



Bhuta Vāhana, Madurai.



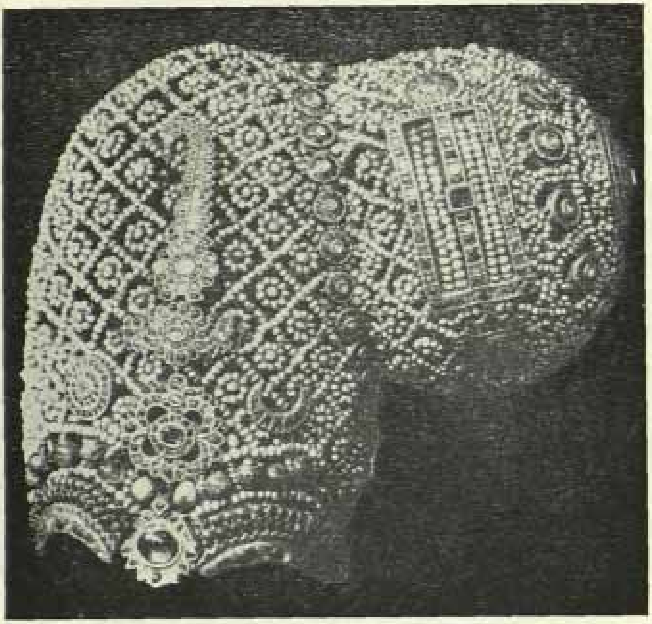
Wooden Horse Mount, Madurai, covered with metal plates gilded with gold plates.



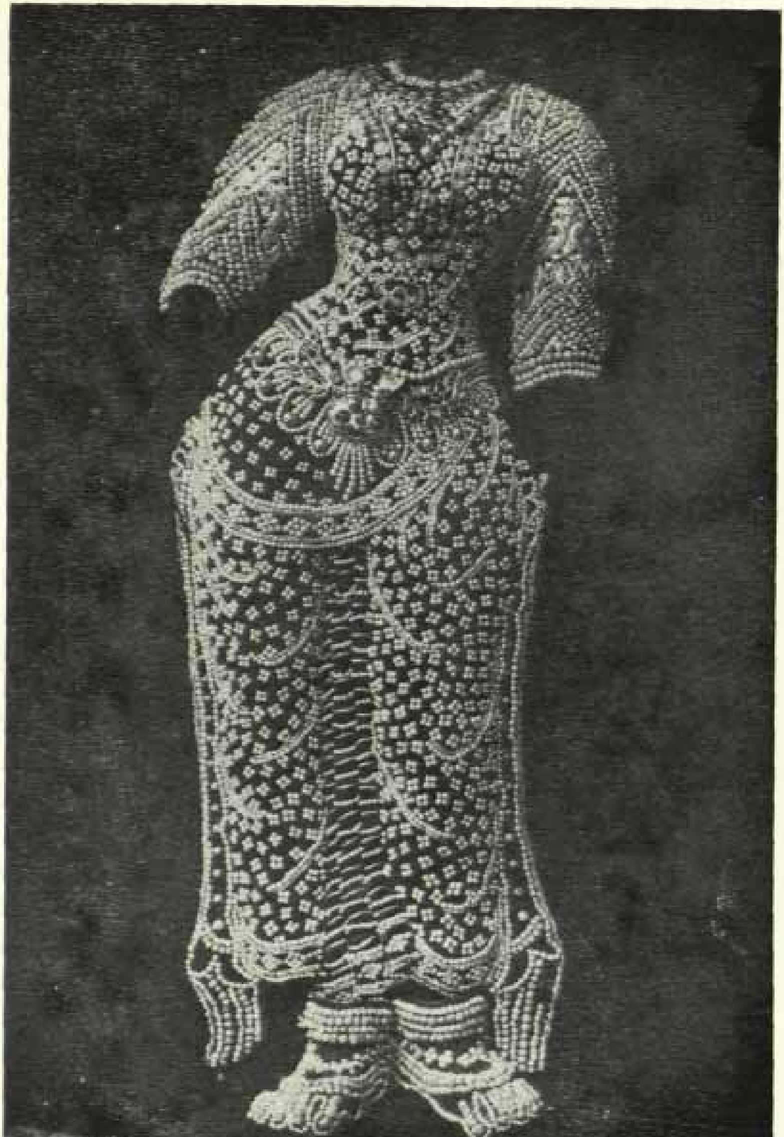
Pearl Crowns and other ornaments.



Gem set Crowns and other ornaments.



Muthu kondai--Minakshi temple, Madurai.



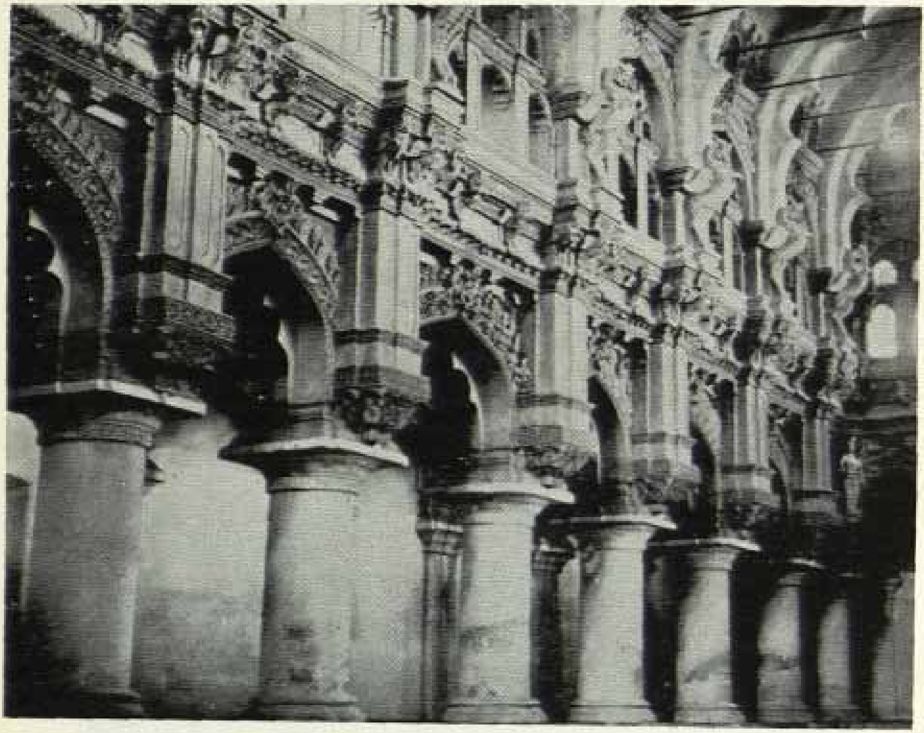
Pearl Kavacam of goddess Minakshi, Madurai.



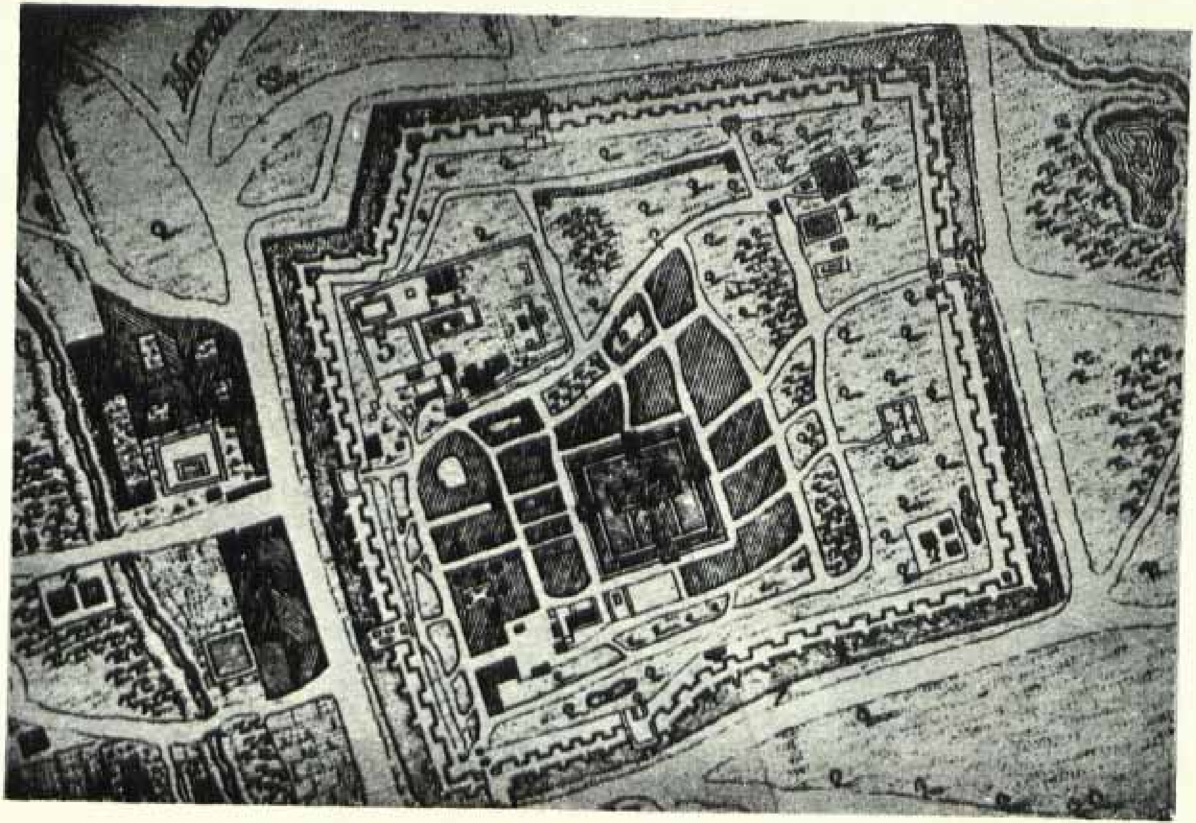
Detail of Pearl Canopy, Madurai.



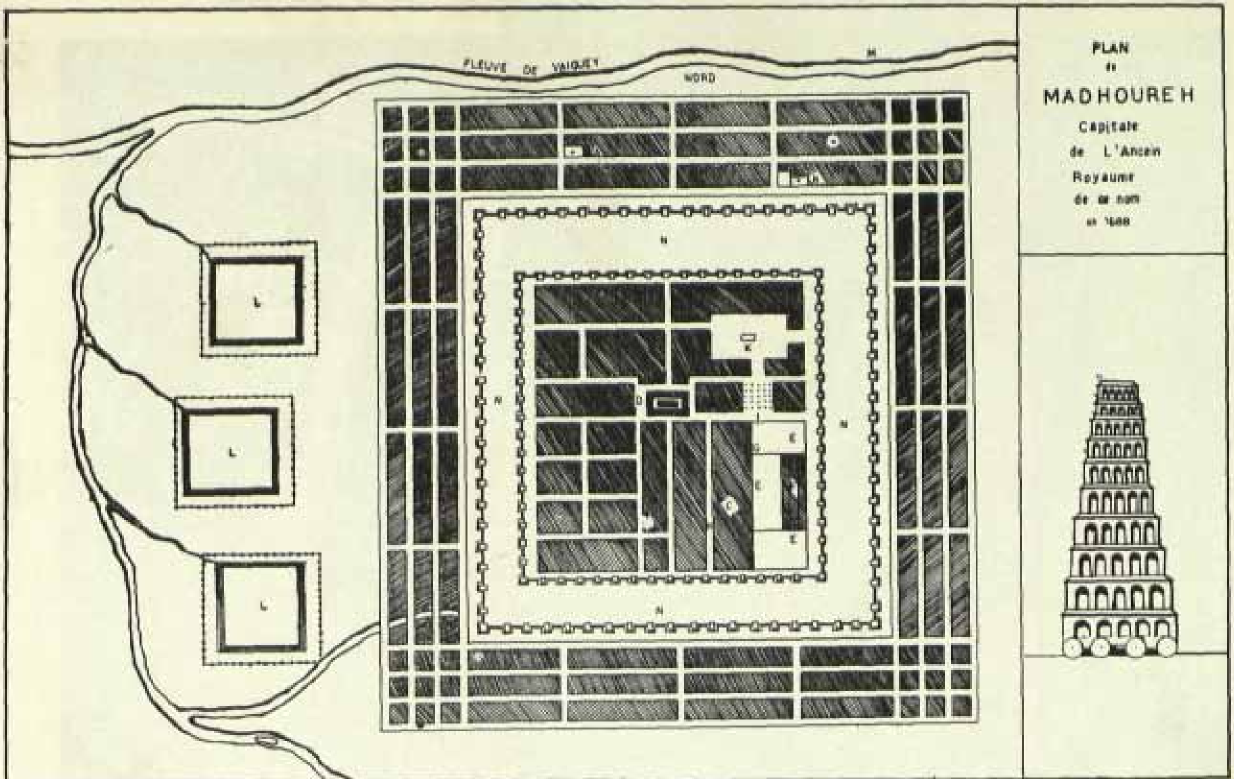
Ornamental metal lamp called Makara torana in front of the Sundaresvara shrine (This work of 17th Century has since been destroyed during renovation).



A view of the Nataka Sala
Thirumalai Nayak Palace, Madurai.



Plan of Madurai in 1757. Map reproduced from "Cambridge's War in India"



Plan of Madurai City in 1688.

A - Old Hindu Temple. B - New Temple. C - Palace. D - Temple. E - Palace court. F - Audience Hall.
G - Choultry (Pudumandapa). H - Harem. I - 1000 Pillar Mandapa. K - Temple car. L - Tanks. M - New temple.

RAYA GOPURA : The *Raya Gopura* which is to the east of the *Pudu Mandapa* is nearly twice the size of the base of the east *gopura* and measures very nearly 200 feet by 120 feet. It is a stupendous structure and if it had been completed it would have been one of the biggest *gopuras* in South India. The building owes its origin to Tirumala Nayaka who is also reported to have built similar unfinished *gopuras* in numerous other centres in South India. The monolithic pillars of the *Raya Gopuram* are over 50 feet high and mark the high degree of proficiency which Dravidian stone masons had attained. The *gopura* base is highly finished and ornamented. Its pavilion pillars, its lion-based pilasters and the carvings on the jambs display a keen sense of massive proportions and large-scale ornamentation. There are many reliefs of Tirumala Nayaka and his queens and a figure of Mināksi's coronation on the wall surface. In its corbels, cornices and *kūdus* this *gopura* also establishes the Madurai style of architecture which dates from about this time. It is a pity that this noble pile should be surrounded by sardid human habitations. A comparison with old photographs of the site taken nearly 100 years ago would show that the road level here has considerably risen so that much of the base of the *gopura* is today below ground level.

3. Inner Gopuras

The inner *gopuras* are eight in number of which only the *Citra Gopura* is seven storeys high. The rest are five storeys or less in height. All their corner edges are straight. There are no niche figures or *kumbapancaras* on some of them.

THE CITRA GOPURA which is in a line with the Amman Sannidhi *gopura* was perhpas the original entrance to the sanctum. No vestiges of the earlier structure are to be seen now. The present structure is attributed to Kāḷatti Mudali, son of Āryanātha Mudali, about 1570 A.D.[1] The architectural style also supports this date.

1. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 24) states that this *gopura* was built by Kāḷatti Mudali in S. 1492(1570 A.D.).While verse 57 of the *Tiruppanimalai* says that Kāḷattinatha, the son of Ariyanayina Mudali, built the stone base (*karpadai*), verse 51 states that the brick superstructure (*sengarpadai*) was raised by Kṛṣṇa Virappa who is evidently the grandson of Visvanatha Nayaka. From verse 51 it may be inferred that the *Citra Gopura* was also known as the "*Muttalakkum Gopura*".

The storeys of the *Citra Gopura* are well proportioned and its lines have no rugged edges and it is one of the best of its class.

GOPURA NĀYAKA GOPURA : The *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* which leads to the Svāmi Sannidhi is a five-storeyed one and though it is attributed to a date as early as S. 1294 (1372 A.D.). in *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No.7)[1], there is hardly any trace of this early work or its later forms. An inscription[2] to the right of the entrance credits Visvappa, the son of Īsvarappa, *adappam* of the Vijayanagara king Acyuta (1529-42 A.D.) with having built it for the merit of the king. This would place the *gopura* about the first half of the 16th century. The style also confirms this in many ways and may be said to be a transitional stage leading to the style prevalent in the 17th century.

NAḌUKAṬṬU GŌPURA: The *Nadukattu Gopura*, as its name indicates, is between the Amman and Svāmi shrines. It is a five-storeyed structure and its style, like that of the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura*, is that of the mid-sixteenth century.

Both *gopuras* are ornamented with many beautiful niche figures. The stone carving is of a high order. Bhairava and Virabadra are sculptured in the niches of the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura*, while Nataraja and Ṣaṇmukha are in the *Nadukattu Gopura*. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 10) mentions this *gopura* to have been built by Sevvandi Murti S. 1481 (1559 A.D.)[3].

KADAKA GOPURA: Architecturally the *Kadaka Gopura* which was the western entrance to the Amman Sannidhi seems to be the oldest among the *gopuras* but strangely enough it has been overlooked by many writers. All the features point to a rather early date for this edifice which one would like to place between the 13th and 14th centuries. Many of the mouldings of this *gopura* are much mutilated and are now covered with thick coats of whitewash.

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1. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 7) gives the builder's name as Vasuvappan and the *Tiruppanimalai* (v. 14) as Visvappa Nayaka of Attigiri.

2. M.E.R. 269 of 1942.

3. The *Tiruppanimalai* (v. 23) also states that this *gopura* was built by Sevvandi Murti Setti.

The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No 25) refers to one Vira Tummacci as the builder and gives the date as S. 1492 (1570 A.D.)[1] This perhaps refers to the brick structure above and could not in any manner refer to the much older stone base.

PĀLAKA GOPURA: This is next to the *Kadaka Gopura* and was the western entrance to the Svami shrine. The presence of Pandya *kudus*, the figures of *ganas* in the entablature and the *vyalavari* above the *kodungai* are early features similar to those in *Kadaka Gopura*. The mouldings on the base also exhibit forms later than those of the *Kadaka Gopura*. It would be safe to date the structure to the 14th cenutry The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 7) also refers to Mallappan as the builder and its date according to this authority would be about S. 1296 (1374 A.D.) which also corresponds with the style of the *Gopura*.

The *Pālaka Gopura* is the model for many of the modern *gopuras* constructed in the present day.

CINNA MOTTAI GOPURA: The five-storeyed *Cinna Mottai Gopura* is on the northern side of the Svami Sannidhi *prākāra*. It is in many ways similar to the *Gopura Nayaka* and the *Nadukattu Gopuras*, being constructed about the same period, though some of its architectural features retain a somewhat earlier type. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* No. 11 credits Sevvandi Velan as its builder about the year 1560 A.D.[2] Architecturally also it may be assigned to the latter half of the 16th century A.D.

SANNIDHI GOPURA: The two *Sannidhi gopuras* are perhaps two of the earliest structures existing in the temple. Much of the architectural details of the Svami Sannidhi Gopura base remain hidden behind later structures and very little of its is visible. The early part of the structure may perhpas date about the 13th-14th centuries.

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1. The *Sritala* also says that the Kadukkayi (Kadaka) Goupra was built by Virappa Tummisi.

2. The *Tiruppanimalai* (v. 34) also states that this *gopura* was built by Sevvandi Vela Setti.

The base of the Amman Sannidhi *gopura* has also early featues. Parts of the two *Sannidhi gopuras* my perhaps belong to a period between the 12th-13th centuries, the Svami Sannidhi *gopura* being about the 12th-13th centuries and the Amman Sannidhi[1] may belong to the latter half of the 13th century.

4. The Two Sanctums

Svami Garbhagriha

The sanctum of the Sundaresvarar shrine is a square structure, the exterior walls measuring 33 ft, on all four sides. The base has a *upapitha* and an *adhisthana*. On the south, west and north sides of the walls of the *garbhagriha* are three bays or shrines which project six feet from the wall surface. The bays are 8' 6" each in length. The shrine in the south is dedicated to Dakṣināmūrti, that on the west has Lingodbhava while the one on the north has Durga[2]. In front of these shrines is a modern platform to which a ladder gives access.

A niche is on either side of these three central shrines. The niches are plain without any niche pilasters or entablatures. Each niche is filled by a large stone elephant measuring about ten feet high. These elephants are finely sculptured, look realistic and are very impressive. There are slight variations in the ornaments carved on them and in the material held in their trunks. These variations give them a certain individuality. According to legend the *vimāna* in which Somasundaresvara is enshrined was known as *Indravimāna* as it was made to the order of Indra by Visvakarma. The *vimana* is supported by eight *dik gajas* (i.e., the guardian elephants of the eight

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1. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 4) says that the Amman Sannidhi three-storeyed *gopura* was built by Anandatandava Nambi in S 1150 (1228 A.D.), while the *Tiruppanimalai* (v. 13) says that it was built by Anandatandava Nambi's wife. Anandatandava Nambi is said to have belonged to the family of Perumbarrappuliyur Nambi who wrote the "*Tiruvalavayudaiyar Tiruvilaiyadal*".

2. *Tiruppanimalai*, verse 19, states that the Daksinamurti, Lingodbhava and Durga *mandapas* were built by Kampalaraya Mahipati, perhaps a reference to Kumara Kampana, while verse 58 says that the Durga *mandapa* was built by Nayina Mudali.

directions). These stone elephants are believed to represent the eight or *aṣṭadiggajas*. Six of them are seen on the exterior walls and the remaining two are close to the east wall of the *garbhagriha* within the *ardhamandapa*.

The *vimāna* repeats in all its three storeys, the projections and recesses on the *garbhagriha* walls. Though it has been renewed a number of times and many stucco figures have been either altered or added, the essential characteristics of an earlier structure have been retained. The stucco figures, though numerous, do not detract from the main lines of the edifice. The gold-plated *sikhara* is one of the most beautiful and impressive parts in the whole temple.

The adytum is a small cubicle measuring about 11 feet square. The wall of the *garbhagriha* is a thick one measuring over 8' 10". The *Svayambhu linga* occupies the centre of the *garbhagriha* and the figure of Manonmani, facing south, occupies the north-east corner of the sanctum. A narrow passage about four feet long leads from the *garbhagriha* to the *antarāla* which is a little over 8 feet wide. Just outside the *antarāla* is the *ardhamandapa* whose walls are practically in continuation of the *garbhagriha*. Close to the line where the *ardhamandapa* joins the *garbhagriha* is a beautiful stone-pierced window in a niche in the north and south walls. The window opening has its own short semi-pilasters and a *torana* over its beam. The *ardhamandapa* floor rises to a level just below the *kumudam* of the *adhiṣṭhana* of the *garbhagriha*. So the base of the *garbhagriha* below the *kumudam* is covered by the floor of the *ardhamandapa* and could not be seen. The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *ardhamandapa* has the same mouldings as the *garbhagriha* and the same kind of wall pilasters, corbels and cornice. But there are no niche openings though short niche pilasters with a cornice and a pavilion with *sālai* roof and central *kūdu* decorate the wall surface. The cornices of these wall niches have the same kind of simulated timber work as on the under-surface of the main cornice surrounding the wall.

The doorway leading from the *ardhamandapa* to the *gorbhagriha* has a *torana* on top, and the cubical pillars flanking the *antarāla* are just plain square shafts with an over-size bevel and tenon gorbel. The two stone elephants mentioned already are on the walls on each side of these square pillars. The nave of the *ardhamandapa* has a row of three pillars on either side. The inner surface of the walls of the *ardhamandapa* are plain and undecorated.

In front of the *ardhamandapa* is a *mukhamandapa*. The doorway leading from this *mukhamandapa* to the *ardhamandapa* has a Gajalaksmi panel on the lintel. On either side of this doorway in the *mukhamandapa* are two *dvārapālakas*. Next to the *dvārapālaka* is Vallabha Ganapati on the south and next to the *dvārapālaka* on the opposite side is an image of Subrahmanya on the peacock. Two doorways on the northern and southern side of the *mukhamandapa* lead to the first *prākāra*. Four pillars form a square in the centre of the *mukhamandapa*. The *mukhamandapa* leads to the large *mahā mandapa*.

The *maha mandapa*[1] measures about 55 feet in width and 85 feet in length. There are four projecting bays on each of the exterior sides of the four walls of the *maha mandapa* The *adhiṣṭāna* of the *maha mandapa* differs slightly from that of the *garbhagriha*. The walls of the *mahā mandapa* are decorated with many stucco panels illustrating the *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends.

There is an entrance to the *mahā mandapa* from the eastern side of the first *prakara*. Access to this entrance is from the *ārukāl pīṭha* adjoining the *mahā mandapa*. A second entrance to the *maha mandapa* is on its southern side. This entrance faces the Sabhāpati shrine which is on the opposite wall in the north. Two rows of pillars on all four sides of the *mahā mandapa* support its ceiling. The Sabhāpati shrine is the famous Veḷḷiyambalam where God Sundaresvara is said to have danced as Natarāja to give *darśan* to the sages Vyāghrapāda and Patañjali who had come to the wedding. Two statues of the sages are close to the shrine. The Natarāja image in the shrine is a large figure nearly 6 feet high and is seen covered by a silver *kavaca*. The image of the Amman standing by the side of Naṭarāja is well sculptured and appears to be old work. A number of processional bronze images are kept on platforms close to the walls of the *mahā mandapa*. Among these is an image of the Siddhar who figures largely in the *Tiruvilaiyāḍal* legends. This idol appears to be an old piece. Among other bronzes are those of the Saiva saints.

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1. The *Tiruppani Vivaram*, No. 8, says that Mavali built the *maha mandapa* in S. 1374 (1452 A.D.), while the *Tiruppanimalai*, verse 20, says that Tirumalirunjolai Mahavali carried out repairs to the *maha mandapa* and *ārukāl pīṭha*. This is evidently a reference to Tirumalirunjolaininrān Mavalivanadarayan who ruled from about 1453 to 1477 A.D. in the Madurai country.

In the north-west corner of the *mahā mandpa* is a walled up strong room or *karu ālam* as it is called in Tamil. This is one of a number of such strong rooms in the temple. The strong room in the *mahā mandapa* has a collection of brozes of varicus gods and goddesses. Some of the pillars of the *mandapa* which are walled up are, however, interesting for they are of the early cubical type with late 13th c. Pandya corbels of the bevel and tenon fluted type. Similar pillars are in the Sangattār temple.

The *ārukāl pīṭha* in front of the *mahā mandapa* is an imposing structure whose bulbous capital octagonal pillars with lotus bud corbels and caryatids over the abacus look very like early pillars but really belong to the 14th or 15th centuries.[1] The bases of these pillars have pavilion ornamentation and the *pīṭha* of the *mandapa* has a frieze of dancing figures in various attitudes with attendant musicians. They are evidently performing before the king who is seated in a panel on the proper left. Smaller friezes of dancing figures are in a row above the *kapota* which is fully ornamented with a lotus *idal* motif.

Though all the authorities state that the *garbhagriha* was spared by the Muslims and that it did not suffer damage, yet one could see that the present structure is not as old as this would make it out to be. Extensive restoration has been done and much of the older work could be seen mixed up with later-day structural additions. It is very likely that the *adhisṭhāna* of the *garbhagriha* retains the largest number of old features though even here a certain amount of repaired work is easily distinguishable. Many of the *kūdus* are of the Pandya type but many others have been recarved. Also the pilasters on the *kanta* of the *upapīṭha* appear to be restorations. It is not possible at present to say how the wall of the *garbhargriha* was originally built up. Many of the stone courses seem to be late insertions as well as

1. The *Tiruppanimalai*, verse 21, states that Sundara Mavali renovated the *arukal pitha*. This probably refers to Sundarattoludaiyan, the son of Tirumalirunjolaininran Mavalivāṇādarayan, who ruled in the Madurai country in the second half of the 15th century A.D.

the lion bases to the pilasters. The elephants which appear to be old work do not seem to fit in happily in the niches in which they now stand. Very likely there might have been some other arrangement in the wall wherein these elephants could have fitted in better. The *ganas* which are placed loosely on the *vyālavari* also reveal that they must have formed part of the original structure and that the restorers not knowing what to do with them just placed them anyhow in the most convenient position they could find. The corbels of the wall pilasters and the associated cornice above are certainly late features and could not have been part of the old structure but the presence of cubical pillars with late 13th century bevel and tenon fluted corbels on some of the walls within the *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa* prove again the antiquity of the shrine.

Minaksi Shrine

The Mīnākṣi shrine and its *prākāras* are smaller than those of the Sundaresvara shrine. The *garbhagriha* of the sanctum is almost a square measuring about 25 feet each side with the *ardha mandapa* on its front. It measures about 25 feet by 45 feet.

The *garbhagriha* entrance has a Gajalaksmi panel on its beam under a *torana*. On either side of the entrance there seem to be two wall niches without opening but a modern brick wall and wooden shutters hide the wall surface here. The *ardhamandapa* has a plain interior and there are no pillars in it. Two four-handed *dvārapālakas* are at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. Four modern pillars support a small entrance *mandapa* on the east wall of the *ardhamandapa*.

The *garbhagriha* walls have three projecting bays with niches. These have short pilasters at the corners and semi-pilasters at the niche openings. In the niche of the central bay on the south is the image of Iccāśakti, that on the west has Kriyāśakti while that on the north has Jñānaśakti.

The *mahāmandapa* has six rows of pillars forming a central nave and three aisles on either side. The pillars of the nave are of the same type as those in Kariyamāṇikka temple. The pillars of the aisles are of the ordinary cubical type.

The *ārukāl pīṭha* has four pillars in the front and one each on the two sides. The two central pillars on the front have large *yāḷi* figures and the two corner pillars are of the same composite type of rounded columnettes associated with cubical capital pillars as in the *ardhamandapa*. The two pillars on the sides of the *pīṭha* are ordinary cubical pillars.

The *paḷḷiyarai* (bed chamber) and the shrines of Vighnesvara and Subrahmanya which are in the sanctum are in the same style as the rest of the structure. The only additional feature noticeable on the wall surface are *kumbapancaras* with slender shafts.

The architectural features of the Mīnākṣi sanctum seem to indicate that it may belong to the first half of the Vijayanagar period, about the 15th century or so[1].

5. Shrines and Isvarams

(i) Sangattar Temple

Quite an important shrine in the Madurai temple and one of the oldest also is the Sangattār temple situated in the north-west corner of the Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra*. The images of the Sangam poets are in this shrine.

The temple has many interesting architectural features. The shrine faces south and is approached by a flight of steps leading to the platform from which another short flight of steps leads to the sanctum doorway. The doorway is flanked by a *gopura* pillar on either side of it.

Going into the temple one finds a small platform running round the four walls, with images of the Sangam poets arranged along the top. The platform seems to be a late addition and one does not know what the original temple was intended to house. Taking all its architectural characteristics into consideration there should

1. The *Tiruppani Vivaram*, No. 8, says that the Amman Sannidhi first *prākāra*, *palliyarai* and *ārukāl pīṭha* were built by Māvali in S 1374 (1452 A.D.). The *Tiruppanimālai*, verse 22, says that the Amman Sannidhi *mahā mandapa*, first *prākāra* and *palliyarai* were built by Tirumalirunjolai Mahavali.

be no difficulty in believing that the shrine must be a Pandya construction between the 12th and 13th century, especially as it represents the transitional stage from the niche with *torana* to the niche with pavilion, both of which types are found on the walls of this temple. It is also curious that this early shrine is not mentioned either in the *Tiruppani Vivaram* or *Tiruppanimālai* or in the later *Sritāḷa*. So the Sangattār images might have been put in at a later date from which time it has come to be known as the Sangattār temple. It is not clear to which deity, if any, the temple must have been originally dedicated.

(ii) *Kariyamāṇikka Perumāḷ Temple*

This shrine which is to the north of the Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra* on the northern side has at present no deity in it. No authentic information is available at present as to what became of the idols which must have once occupied this shrine and gave it its name. The shrine which faces east has a beautiful five-aisled *mandapa* in front running to a length of nearly 80 feet.

The sanctum presents again a rather curious mixture of types. This is an enclosed apartment with walls on all four sides, the front wall occupying the width of the central nave and two sides aisles. Thus the two end aisles form a sort of corridor or *pradakṣiṇa* round the central shrine. The corridors are illuminated by clerestory windows on the roof.

The central shrine could be entered through the front entrance on the east side or from the opening on the south side. A short flight of steps leads to the platform. The interior is rather a plain structure, the walls being bare without any ornamentation.

(iii) *Visvanatha Shrine*

As one enters through the south *gopura* and turns left one comes upon what is known as the Vighnesvara Mandapa adjoining the wall at the south-east corner of the Javandisvarar garden. An examination of this *mandapa* reveals many interesting features This small *mandapa* now houses a Vighnesvara image with a few Naga images.

The Vighneśvara image is placed on an upturned capital with *idal* taken from some broken bulbous capital pillar. It looks as though these images have been just collected from similar stray figures in the temple and placed in recent years here.

Just at the back of the wall of this Vighnesvara *mandapa* is the Visvanatha shrine in the south-east corner of the garden. Entrance to this shrine is from the west colonnade of the Golden Lily Tank. The entrance is on a platform. Going into the shrine one finds four cubical pillars of an earlier type with corbels of the 14th century. The exterior of this shrine as seen from the garden reveals other early features. This medley of early and modern features presents one with a guessing game as to how the original was like or what purpose it served.

The eastern wall of the Svāmi first *prākāra* presents a similar puzzle. This has a number of shrines erected in front of the wall but a look inside a few of them reveals remnants of early type pilasters and niche pilasters. As the wall on which these are found is an old one and as it has a mediaeval Pandya inscription of the 12th-13th century the presence of these pilasters points to the existence of some early features here. However, they have been destroyed and their trace except for these pilasters is now lost.

(iv) *Isvarams*

The Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra* on the west side contains a number of small shrines called *Isvarams,* all ranged in a row close to the wall on either side of the *Pālaka Gopura.* There are 14 such shrines, six on the southern half and eight on the northern half of the *prākāra.* Each of these shrines has a *garbhagriha* and a chamber in front corresponding probably to an *ardhamandapa.* There is a *linga* in most of them. Between the front facade of each shirne a wall has been raised, perhaps at a later date, for security purposes. The shrines therefore must have been free standing originally.

One of the shrines (No. 8) faces south while all the rest face east. All the shrines are on a platform running the length of the wall. There is a row of cubical pillars with bevel and tenon corbel along the edge of the platform. The shrines on the southern half

are set back to the wall of the *Palaka Gopura* leaving a passage between the pillars of the platform and the front of the shrines themselves. But the *Isvarams* on the northern side of the *prākāra* wall have their entrance flush with the edge of the platform and there is a wide space between their back walls and the wall of the *Palaka Gopura* on that side. Many of the shrines now have only a flat roof but a few of them appear to have once had a *vimāna* over them. It is quite likely that the roofs of many of them were damaged some time or other and that new ceilings were put up subsequently. At present shrines Nos. 7, 8 and 12 have *vimana*. The *vimana* over shrine No. 8 is of an unusual shape. The other two *vimanas* are in a very dilapidated condition.

The fourth shrine and the twelfth shrine appear to be older than the rest judging from the architectural features. But it is not known when these shrines were actually built or by whom. In a general way one may say that some of them, especially shrines Nos. 4 and 12, may go back to as early as the 13th and 14th centuries. The others may not be far later, though one may find a *pushpa bodigai* or a *kapota* with later *kudus* on some of them. The *Tiruppanimālai* mentions a number of persons as having constructed several *Isvarams*[1].

It is not known whether these refer to the construction of the *Isvarams* on the west side. But it is curious that the number of *Isvarams* mentioned in the *Tiruppanimālai* tallies more or less with those on the western corridor if one leaves out Shrine Nos. 4 and 12 which, as stated above, appear to be older. But apart from this none of the names mentioned in the *Tiruppanimālai* could be identified with any

1. *Isvarams* mentioned in the *Tiruppanimālai*:

Tiruvambalesvaram, built by Siramalai Sevvandi Murti Setti (verse 29); Murtisvaram and Visvisvaram, by Sevvandi Velan (verse 34); Virisvaram, Kittinisvaram and Aiyankarisvaram, by Vira Krsnappa Nayaka (verse 59); Peddisvaram, by Vaiyankāppavan, son-in-law of Peddan (verse 73); Velisvaram, by Siramalai Velappa Sinna Sevvandi (verse 74); Virisvaram and Kalatti-isvaram, by Ariyanayina Mudali (verse 56); Ari-isvaram, by Kalattinatha, son of Ariyanayina Mudali (verse 56) and Sevvisvaram, by Krsna Vira Nayaka (verse 53).

of the *Isvarams*. According to this source the *Isvarams* would appear to have been built in the latter half of the 16th century. This date may appear to be rather late if one considers the architectural features. As it is evident that quite a lot of restoration and renovation work has been done, it may be that it is this restoration work that the *Tiruppanimālai* refers to or it may also be that the persons mentioned in the *Tiruppanimālai* might have added the chamber or *ardhamandapa* in front of the *garbhagriha* of the *Isvarams*. The question, however, should remain an open one for the present.

Shrines No. 7 facing east and No. 8 facing south abut each other at the corners and have a smaller *mandapa* common to both, in front of them. As both these shrines have *vimānas* also, it may perhaps indicate that the shrines were of some importance either intrinsically or because they might have been built by a royal personage. Similarly shrine No. 12 has a *vimāna* and in place of a *mandapa* has *cauri* bearers on the corridor pillars in front of it. This may indicate that it is also of some importance.

Shrine No. 2 has only a *garbhagriha* and its *ardhamandapa* has given place to a rather large pillared hall open to the ceiling. This area reveals the many alterations and additions so characteristic of these shrines. The *kapota* only of the base of the *garbhagriha* is visible over the floor. It shows that the base must extend below and that the platform has been raised over it. Similarly extra lengths of pillars have been placed on the *garbhagriha* roof to support the main ceiling of the corridor.

6. Mandapas

(i) *Kambattadi Mandapa*

The Madurai temple contains many *mandapas* and corridors and of these the *Kilikatti Mandapa*, the *Kambattadi Mandapa*, the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* and the *Pudu Mandapa* form a famous quartette.

The *Kambattadi Mandapa* is also known as the *Kodikkamba Mandapa*, the Sundaresvarar *Mandapa* or the *Dhvajasthamba Mandapa*. It is located between the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* and the *Swāmi Sannidhi Gopura* in the second *prākāra* on the east

The *mandapa* which is in the centre of the *prākāra* has a passageway on each side of it. This *mandapa* which encloses the Nandi shrine with two *dhwajasthambhas* and *balipitha* has eight magnificent pillars. Each of these monolithic pillars is adorned with carvings of the twentyfour *Siva Mūrthams*. Noteworthy among the sculptures are those of Rishabhārūda, Rishabhāntika, Minākshi's marriage, Somaskanda, Kailāsārūda, Tripurāri etc. Four other huge statues of Ūrdhva Tāndava, Kāli, Aghora Virabhadra and Agni Virabhadra are to be seen in the *prākāra* on either side of the entrance of the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura*. These statues which are over ten feet high are magnificent specimens of sculptural work and are strikingly impressive. A detailed account of these is given in another section elsewhere. The Nandi shrine is a singularly beautiful example of Vijayanagar style.

The Nandi is almost life size and the carving is well finished. The *vimāna* of the shirne is brightly painted with gold and variegated colours. The two *dhwajasthambhas* are well proportioned and are gold plated. The ugly iron railings which are used to enclose this part of the *mandapa* is an eyesore and a mockery to the magnificent sculptural work of the pillars.

There is an air of sanctity pervading the whole of the *Kambattadi Mandapa* which is due perhaps to the large group of iconographic sculptures and the exceptionally high ceiling supported by ornamental pillars typical of the Madurai period. The central nave of the *prākāra* has two rows of cubical composite pillars richly sculptured and ornamented and a single row of polygonal pillars just inside the composite pillars on the eastern side. The nave on the southern half of the *prākāra* adjoins the Jnānasambandar shrine while the nave on the northern side abuts the *Mandapa Nāyaka Mandapa* or the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa* as it is now known. There is a Navagraha shrine and Sattaiyappar shrine within this nave. Sattaiyappar seems to be the guardian deity or one of the *Kshetrapālas* of the temple and the keys are left in his charge every night after the temple services are over for the day. This custom is still observed by the authorities.

At the entrance through the *Sannidhi Gopura* are two gigantic *dvārapālakas* which are stated to be the biggest of their kind in the

Madurai Temple. These are not grotesque like most *dvārapālakas* but are thoroughly dignified. These are four-handed figures, the two upper hands holding *śūla* and *pāsa* while one of the fore arms rests on the *gada* and the other is held in the *suci* or *viśmaya* pose.

The *Kambattadi Mandapa* was built by Krsna Virappa Nāyaka (1572-1595 A.D.) according to *Tiruppani Vivaram*[1], the *Tiruppanimalai*[2], the *Sritala*[3], the Dalavāy Agrahāram plates[4], the Vellankudi plates[5], the Padmaneri grant[6], and an inscription dated S. 1505 (1584 A.D.)[7] on one of the pillars in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. The *Madura District Gazetteer* mentions that the *Nandi Mandapa* was built by Nattukkottai Chettis in the seventies[8]. Cole, in his Report published in 1884 A.D.[9], writes that the flooring of the *prākāra* was renewed lately as also a number of the columns. This evidently refers to the monolithic pillars erected by the Settis about 1870 A.D. This would show that even as late as 1870 A.D. stone carving was a live art and that the craftsmen maintained a high standard.

THE MANDAPA NAYAKA MANDAPA : This *mandapa* is in the north-east corner of the Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra* and faces south. It is also called the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa*. It is

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1. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* No. 26 gives the date of construction as S 1494 1572 A.D.)

2. The *Tiruppanimālai*, verse 52, says the *mandapa* was built by Krshna Virappa of Kacci. Verse 54 says he built the *Virappa Mandapa* before the *Kodikkamba*. It is not clear whether this refers to any separate *mandapa*. Most probably it is a reference to the *Kambattadi Mandapa* itself.

3. The *Sritala* states that the Svāmi second *prākāra* east side upto *Tirujnānasambandar Mandapa* was built by Krsna Virappa.

4. E.I. Vol. XII p. 159 ff. The plates state that Virabhuptai built a *mandapa* of rare sculptures in the front of the shrine of Sundara Nāyaka.

5. M.E.R. 9 of Appendix A. 1912; E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 298 ff.

6. M.E.R. 14 of Appendix A. 1906; E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 287 ff.

7. M.E.R. 35 of 1908. This record is in Telugu with a Tamil copy below it. It records that in S 1505 expired Virappa, the son of Visvanatha Nayaka-Krsnappa Nayaka built the *mandapa*.

8. Page 270.

9. *Third Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the Year* 1883-84.

on a niga platform to which steps lead from the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. It is a seven-aisled *mandapa*, at the end of which is Sabhāpathi temple which is built over a low *adhiṣṭhāna*. The Sabhāpathi temple has a large idol of Nataraja well carved in stone. In front of the shrine is a small four-pillared *mandapa*. The four pillars are of black polished stone and the base of the *mandapa* is supported by *aṣṭagajas*. As usual images of Patanjali and Vyāghrapāda are found in this shrine also. The *mandapa* with its well-spaced pillars has a reputation as one of the most beautiful in the temple. There is a frieze over the lintel at the entrance to the shrine and its small carved figures relate to the legend of Minākshi's marriage. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 9) credits Cinnappan with building the *mandapa* about the year S. 1448 (1526 A.D.). The *Tiruppanimālai*[1] adds that Mallaya Cinnappa was from Gooty (Gutti).

JNANASAMBANDAR TEMPLE : The southern end of the *Kambattadi Mandapa* leads to the Jnanasambandar shrine which is situated on the platform of the *prākāra*. Two elephants nearly five feet high flank the short flight of steps leading to the shrine. This *mandapa* is stated to have been built by Krsna Virappa Nāyaka about S. 1494 (1572 A.D.)[2] and it is perhaps his statue and that of his minister or son that one finds on two pillars on either side of the entrance. The pillars of this *mandapa* are now blocked up by a wall with modern windows and doors but it could easily be seen that the *mandapa* at one time must have been an open one.

(ii) *Kilikatti Mandapa*

The *Kilikatti Mandapa* which is west of the Golden Lily Tank leads to the sanctum of the Amman shrine just as the *Kambattadi Mandapa* leads to the Svāmi sanctum. The *Kilikatti Mandapa* may be said to be the most ornamental of the *mandapas*. It is a single corridor with richly carved pillars on two sides. There are ten statues. These are the five Pāndavas, Siva as hunter, Draupati, Purushāmriga, Vāli and Sugriva. Between

1. Verse 37. Verse 90 gives an elaborate description of the *mandapa* and says that it was built by Pittuccokkan, the son of Puvanamahamunivan.

2. *Tiruppani Vivaram* No. 26.

some of these pillars are pillars with the usual *yāli* motif. Two fine sculptures of *dvārapālakas* are at the entrance to the sanctum from this *mandapa*. These have two hands only and the workmanship appears to be earlier than those of *Kambattadi Mandapa*. The *Kilikatti Mandapa* is also known as the *Panca Pāndava Mandapa*, the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* or the *Kottaimuthu Mandapa*. Each of these names has its own reasoning. From the *Tiruppanimālai*[1] it may be inferred that the *mandapa* was built by Tiruvambala Setti, the son of Sirāmalai Sevvandi Murti Setti, and that it was called *Murti Mandapa*, evidently after the name of his father. The *mandapa* was also known as *Sangili Mandapa*[2] on account of the *sangil kōlāṭṭam* performed here. Though the *mandapa* is sometimes referred to as the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* in the present day, the *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 18)[3] and *Tiruppanimālai*[4] refer to the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* as having been built to the south of the *Sangili Mandapa* by Timmappa Nāyaka, one of the Vijayanagra viceroys. So the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* would appear to be an independent structure though it is not possible to identify it today. Quite likely it occupied the site on which the present *Mutharli Mandapa* stands, as the *Tiruppanimālai*[5] adds that the *Purushāmriga Mandapa*, the *Gandar Gandan Kuradu* and the *Gandar Gandan Toppu* (garden) were built by Timmappa Nāyaka. The *Gandar Gandan Kuradu* is said to be the high platform in front of the Visvanatha shrine west of *Mutharli Mandapa*. The *Gandar Gandan Toppu* is apparently a reference to the garden just behind the present Visvanatha shrine.

The pillars and the ceiling of the *Kilikatti Mandapa* are painted in brilliant colours. The ceiling paintings are a complete guide to *Saiva* iconography and refer to the various forms of Subrahmanya,

1. Verse 33.

2. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 14) says that the Amman Sannidhi Sangili Mandapa was built by Tiruvambala Setti in S 1484 (1562 A.D.).

3. The date is given as S 1486 (1564 A.D.)

4. Verse 25.

5. Verse 25.

Ganesa, Devi etc. There is a story current that the pillars of this *mandapa* were originally in the Kariyamānikka Perumāl temple from where they were removed to this place. This story is perhaps based on the statements in the *Sritāla*. The *Sritāla* says in one place that Abisheka Pandaram took down the front *mandapa* of the Kariyamānikka Perumāl temple and re-erected it as the *Sangili Mandapa* in front of the Amman shrine. The *Sritāla* after enumerating the *tiruppanis* done till S. 1660 (1738 A.D.), continues with a statement which is unfortunately damaged and incomplete. It says that "Sivandi (—) built the Am (—) *Sangili Mandapa* after systematically taking down the Kariyamānikka Perumāl temple (—) dapam." These are rather incomplete and broken statements and unless they could be corroborated by other sources one cannot vouchsafe for the story. Cole in his report[1] says that the east wall abutting the Minākshi shrine on the west is covered with inscriptions which could be read but which is completely whitewashed. The presence of mediaeval inscriptions shows that this is an early wall.

(iii) *Thousand Pillar Mandapa*

The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* is a huge edifice located in the north-east corner of the Ādi Street with its north and eastern side close to the outer walls of the temple. It occupies an area of 240 feet by 250 feet. The *mandapa* faces south and its entrance on that side leads to a long central nave with two rows of pillars on either side of it. The east and west wings of the *mandapa* are fully filled with rows of pillars of which there are 985 in the *mandapa*. The central nave leads to a Sabhāpathi shrine which is over two stages of platforms. The shrine contains a large image of Nataraja showing him dancing on top of a large *Kurma Pitha*. *Yāli* pillars flank the approaches of the shrine. The shrine wall is a modern fixture and very likely the shrine was not enclosed by walls in earlier times.

There is a beautiful *linga* shrine on the eastern wing with finely worked details on its structural members. The *jaladvāra* especially is a finely sculptured piece showing two mythical beasts

1. Major Cole: *Preservation of National Monuments—India*, Para 18.

The shrine is in disuse and probably has remained so for years past. It houses a *linga* and a goddess whose image lies broken.

The pillars in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* are beautifully sculptured with iconographic figures. The sculpturing is in a class by itself and one could easily notice the difference between them and the other sculptures elsewhere in the temple. They reveal a wonderful sense of form and line. The group of figures on two rows of pillars at the entrance are each one a masterpiece by itself. The carvings on the first row of pillars are Angam Vettina Siva, Kannappar, Kankālamurti, Aryanātha Mudail, Harischandra, Chandramati, Kuratti and Kuravan. On the second row of pillars are the following: Pandya Raja, Tripurāri, Ganeśa, *dvārapālakas*, Subrahmanya, Nāgarāja and Sarasvati. On the central row of pillars are other fine sculptures of which the following are worth mentioning: Kali age, Draupati, Vedan, Rati, Manmata, Aghora Virabhadra, Mohini and Bikshātanar. On some of the plain pillars number of legendary and iconographic figures in low relief are carved on the facets.

The compound pillars have bracketed gryphons and corbels extending from the main shaft. This combination of bracketed beam is architecturally well composed and is a good example of pillars with foliated brackets spreading out like a tree. The base of the *mandapa* on the western side has a frieze of panels depicting scenes from the legends in low relief.

The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* is reported to have been built by Ariyanātha Mudali[1], the great general and minister of the first four Nāyaka rulers of Madurai. An equestrian statue of Ariyanātha Mudali is on one of the front pillars. The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 26) and the *Tiruppanimālai* [2] state that the *mandapa* was built by Krishna Virappa Nāyaka and the former gives the date as 1572 A.D. The *mandapa* was evidently built by Ariyanātha Mudali during the reign of Krishna Virappa Nāyaka.

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1. Taylor: *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. II, p. 116. *Sritala.*
2. Verse 54.

(iv) *Pudu Mandapa*

One of the most publicised edifices in the Madurai temple is the *Pudu Mandapa* built by Tirumala Nayaka[1] between 1626 and 1633 A.D. This is a large corridor measuring 330 feet by 105 feet and is axially in front of the east *gopura*. Along the length of it is a central nave with an aisle on either side of it provided by four rows of pillars. The *mandapa* belongs to the Madurai period of architecture and has all the four styles of pillars, the decorative compound type, the *yāli* type, the iconographic type and the portrait type pillars. The whole *mandapa* is the high watermark of mediaeval building craft. At the western end, that is, at the end next to the east *gopura*, there is a platform with a canopy supported by a number of polished black stone pillars. This canopied *mandapa* is known as the *Vasanta Mandapa* to which the images of Minākshi and Sundaresvara are brought on certain festival occasions. Ten statues of Nāyaka rulers of Madurai from Visvanatha to Tirumala Nāyaka are on five pillars on either side in the centre of the nave. Equestrian and *yāli* pillars are on the outer pillars at the entrance on the east and west side. These areas have also many pillars with iconographic figures details of which are given in the section on Iconographic sculptures (Chapter X, Section c). The whole corridor is a very imposing structure revealing very good planning and excellent execution.

(v) *Ashtasakti Mandapa*

One of the most beautiful of entrances to the Madurai temple is the *Ashtasakti Mandapa* which is axially in a line with the Minākshi shrine. This *mandapa* is actually the main entrance to the temple in the present day. Its frontage is formed of a high portal with a large tower over it and two smaller towers on either side of it on top of the two side walls. Two stucco figures of Ganesa and Shanmukha are on the upper level on the side walls. Photographs taken about a hundred years back do not show these stucco figures. These and other changes in the stucco decorations of the entrance should therefore have been made within the last hundred years.

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1. *Tiruppanimālai*, verse 80; *Srītāla*.

Proceeding inside one finds a colonnade of two rows of pillars over which is an arched roof. The front row of pillars have the figures of the eight Ashtasaktis after whom the *mandapa* is named. On four of the second row of pillars on either side there are four statues of Nāyaka rulers. Behind this second row of pillars are shops dealing in a variety of articles. Panels of stucco figures with painted background are now in the clerestory that was once below the arched roof The ceiling of the roof is decorated with floral designs enclosing five *yantra* designs peculiar to Devi. At the western end are two fine stone figures of Mahā Ganapati and Shanmukha and these perhaps served as the model for the stucco figures on the front walls of the entrance. The *Sritāla* states that the *Ashtasakti Mandapa*[1] was built by a chamber maid of Rudrapati, a lady of Tirumala Nāyakar's harem.

(vi) *Minor Mandapas*

Among the lesser known *mandapas* are the Vira Vasantarāya Mandapa, the Minākshi Nāyaka Mandapa, and the Mudali Mandapa. The Vira Vasantarāya Mandapa is immediately to the west of the east *gopura* and is almost as long as the *Pudu Mandapa* which is on the other side of the east *gopura*. The Vira Vasantaraya Mandapa has a long central nave and an aisle on each side of it and its tall and slender compound pillars which are variosuly patterned support a high ceiling which is roofed with long slabs At the entrance to the *mandapa* on the eastern side are the figures of Rudra, Rudrakāli, Kali age (?) and Kālaharamūrti sculptured on pillars. On the ceiling is a large carved panel with dancing gures and lotus medal lions. According to the *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 32) Muttu Virappa, the brother of Tirumala Nāyaka[2], is reputed to have built this *mandapa* in S. 1533 (1611 A.D.).

THE MINAKSHI NAYAKA MANDAPA: The Minākshi Nāyaka Mandapa which leads to the Amman shrine is between the *Citra Gopura* and the *Ashtasakti Mandapa*. It has six rows of pillars forming a central nave and two aisles on either side. The central nave

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1. The *Tiruppanimālai* (v. 83) calls this *mandapa* as the "Toli Ammāl Arai".

2. *Tiruppanimālai* (v. 75) and the *Sritāla* also mention Muttu Virappa as the builder of this *mandapa*.

is more than 20 feet broad. The pillars are of the squrae compound type as in other structures in Madurai with a bracketed capital above composed of lions and Madurai corbels with connecting beams The pillar shafts have delicately carved floral designs. At the western end is a huge *tiruvāsi*. The present *tiruvāsi* is a modern one which replaced an older one said to have been donated by Samukam Minākshi Nayakar, son of Tiruvenkadam[1]. At the entrance to the *mandapa* on the east are two figures of a Vedan and his wife carved on two pillars. They probably represent Isvara and His Devi in this form. The two figures are almost in a similar attitude and are well sculptured with less idealism in their features. On one of the pillars in the central nave is a diminutive figure of Minākshi Amman as she was before she met her future consort Sundaresvara in the course of her *digvijaya*. It is not a very good piece of work but it gets interest as a representation, of Minākshi in this form within the templeitself. There is, however, a large sculpture of this in the *Pudu Mandapa*. The ceiling of the central nave has a large carving of a *rāsi chakra*. It is generally thought that Minākshi Nayaka[2], one of the minister of Tirumalai Nayaka, built this *mandapa*.

MUDALI PILLAI MANDAPA: *Mudali Pillai Mandapa* which lies between the *Chitra Gopura* and the north-east corner of the Golden Lily Tank is popularly known as the Dark *Mandapa* for it is enclosed by walls and very little light reaches it. It contains six sculptured pillars of which five relate to the Bhikshātana Mohini legend and the sixth pillar has a portrait of the donor probably.

The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 33)[3] and *Tiruppanimālai*[4] refer to one Kadandai Mudali (who is the same as the Kālattiyappa Mudali referred to in *Sritāla*[5]) as the builder and who is also stated to have erected the *Chitra Gopura*.

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1. *Tiruppani Vivaram*, No. 34.

2. *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 34) states that the *mandapa* was built in S 1630 (1708 A.D.); The *Tiruppanimālai* and the *Sritāla* also say that Samugam Minākshi Nayaka was the builder.

3. The date of construction is given as S 1535 (1613 A.D.)

4. Verse 62

5. The *Sritāla* also refers to him as Sāmāsigam Mudaliyappan.

THE SERVAIKAR MANDAPA[1], Mutturāma Aiyar Mandapa, Kalyānasundara Mudaliyar Mandapa and Subbarayar Mandapa are a group of modern structures close to one another in the court between the Vira Vasantaraya Mandapa and the Minākshi Nāyaka Mandapa. Though these do not look as opulent as the larger *mandapas*, they have a singular grace of their own with their tall and slender pillars and simple corbels. The bracketed corbel, especially of the Sērvaikār Mandapa, is worth noticing. It is so unlike the heavy, massive corbels of the other *mandapas* that the difference strikes one immediately.

Three *mandapas* in the Ādi Street corners, for instance, the Ārumutta Mudali[2] *mandapa* in the south-east corner built in S. 168: (1760 A.D.), the Tummacci Nāyaka *mandapa* in the souh-west[3] and the Tattu Surru *mandapa* in the north-east by Venkatesvara Mudali[4] are worth mentioning. Further details about these structures are not known.

The earliest among these small *mandapas* appears to be what is now called *Peccakkāl Mandapa* which is in front of the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura*. According to the *Sritāla* this was built by Pecciyakka, a woman who supplied dairy products to the temple and who financed *Pittu Sokku Pandaram* for this purpose. According to the *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 36) the date of its construction would be about S. 1580 (1658 A.D.)

THE KALYANA MANDAPA: The *Kalyāna Mandapa* abuts the eastern wall of the Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra*. It was originally an open *mandapa*, but at present it is enclosed by walls on all sides except the east. It has foliated arches. The side walls of the north and south carry two huge paintings of the "Two Worlds" according to Hindu cosmology. In the centre of the *mandapa* is a large platform with polished black stone pillars and a canopy fully covered with wood carvings of a very high order. The *mandapa*

1. *Triappani Vivaram* No. 40, says that it was built by Marudappa Sērvaikār.
2. *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 38); *Tiruppanimālai* verse 105.
3. *Tiruppani Vivaram*, (NO. 37) gives the date S 1680 (1758 A.D.).
4. Ibid. (No. 39) says that it was built in S 1694 (1772 A.D.). Fergusson also says that the Tatta Suddhi was built in 1770 A.D. (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 392).

is reputed to have been built by Vijayaranga Chokkanātha Nāyaka[1] whose crudely sculptured statue is on a pillar in front of the platform. The important festival relating to Minākshi Sundareswara's marriage takes place here annually. A stone relief of Gundodharā is on one of the side walls and is reported to have been brought here from the *Annakkuli Mandapa*. A timbered hall has been erected in front of this *mandapa* by the Nattukkottai Chettiars in recent years. This hall with its timber roofing and beautifully wrought wooden beams is the only structure of its kind in the whole of the temple and is a good specimen of modern craftsmanship.

ANNAKKULI MANDAPA: Scattered about in the environs of the temple are a number of *mandapas* and shrines. The *Annakkuli Mandapa* which is just west of the west *gopura* is the most attractive of these. This *mandapa* is actually a series of four *mandapas* one behind the other. There are four large stone elephants at the entrance. These are similar to the two elephants in front of the Jnānasambandar temple in the Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra*. A modern wall has been put up between the pillars on the front of this *mandapa*. At present the *mandapa* houses an elementary school. The third *mandapa* behind has four *yāli* pillars. The *yālis* are short and thin and similar to those on some of the pillars in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. On the central pillars on the northern and southern sides are two figures of Brahmā and Vishnu. Between these pillars is a long platform of black polished stone while in the north-east corner is another small platform.

In the fourth or last *mandapa* are eight beautifully carved monolithic compound pillars. On the southern side from east to west are the figures of a *cauri* bearer, Pāndya king, Vyāghrapāda and Brahmā. On the northern side similarly from east to west are a queen, king, Patanjali and Vishnu. This assemblage leaves one in no doubt that the *mandapa* had some important part to play with the legend of Minākshi-Sundaresvarar's marriage. It is known that Vishnu gave away the bride on the occasion and that Brahmā performed the marriage *homa*, that

1. *Sritāla*; The *Tiruppani Vivaram* (No. 35) says that it was built in S 1633 (1711 A.D.); gives the date as 1707 A.D. (*History of Indian & Eastern Architecture* Vol. I, p. 392.

Patanjali and Vyāghrapāda who attended the wedding were the principal personsages for whose benefit Siva once again performed the *Ānanda Tāndava* as at Chidambaram in the *Rajata Sabha* in the temple. The two figures who look like a king and queen are perhaps Himavat and Menaka, the parents of the goddess. The figure of the Pandya king is probably that of Sundaresvara Himself. The *cauri* bearer who is on the pillar facing that of the queen is perhaps the queen's attendant.

All the sculptures are visible only from the waist upwards as the part below is filled with sand. It is a pity that such beautiful work should be hidden in this manner. The sculptures have a distinct character of their own and there is nothing corresponding to their style in the Madurai temple. They are probably the work of one master. The characterisation and the modelling of the figures are admirable. The costume and jewellery are well handled without over-emphasis. One peculiarity that strikes an observer is that the figures do not look Tamilian as earlier sculptures or Telugu as the later Nāyaka sculptures. They have a personality of their own which one must say is the gift of the craftsman who created them. The simple coiffure and diaphanous drapery of the *cauri* bearer contrast very well with the bejewelled head and rich garments of the queen who stands opposite to her. The manner in which the gossamer substance of the *cauri* bearer's saree is rendered is astonishing. All the figures and especially Vyāghrapāda and Patanjali look happy and pleased as they had every reason to be on the festive occasion for which they had all gathered as guests.

The figure of the Pandya king is similar to those of the same figure on the *Pāndiyan Padittarai* of the Golden Lily Tank and to another figure in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The headgear and the necklaces are almost similar to all these figures. Also one finds that in all these three sculptures the right hand holds a lotus bud. This may be the legendary Pāndya king who is reputed to have built the original temple. Excepting the figures of the gods, Brahmā and Vishnu, Pāndya rāja and the attendant *cauri* bearer, all the other figures have *anjali hastas*. Most of the figures are mutilated in parts of their limbs.

According to the *Tiruppanimalai*[1] Chellappan alias Tirumalai Mānikkam is reputed to have built this *mandapa* in about 1563 A.D. As there are four *mandapas* here, it is not known which of these is referred to.

NAGARA MANDAPA: Facing the *Ashtasakti Mandapa* is the *Nagarā Mandapa* or *Accaya Mandapa* which Kāmāttam Accayarayan, a minister of Mangammāl, is stated to have built.[2] This *mandapa* which was used for storing the *vāhanas*, contains a much white-washed statue of Rāni Mangammāl with her grandson, similar to the one in Tirupparankunram, one of the pillars near the entrance.

B. TEMPLE ORNANENTATION

The Hindu temple has to be embellished with ornamentation on almost every part of it as prescribed in the *Silpa Sāstras*. The temple is thus a complete unification of architectural skill and artistic beauty. According to these *sāstras* the bases, walls, superstructures, doorways and ceilings of *gopuras* and *garbhagrihas* have to be ornamented each with its particular type of decoration. The various mouldings of the *upapīṭha* and *adhishthāna*, the pillars, pilasters, *kumba-pancaras* and *devakoshtas* on the wall surfaces, the *karna-kudus*, *pancaram*[5] and *sālais* on the superstructure and finally the *vimāna* and its *stupis* are fully described in the *sāstras* for the various classes of temple structures. "The Hindu builders never contemplated with satisfaction a building which is divorced from ornament and ornament enters into the very essence of compostion".[3] From these one could understand what a large part ornament plays in temple construction. While the general method of temple construction has remained almost the same, the style of its ornamentation has undergone subtle evolutionary changes in the different periods. A study of the important part that the different styles of ornament have played in the evolution of Dravidian architecture is necessary for dating of the buildings. "The history of the architecture of Southern India reduces itself to the history of ornamentation."[4]

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1. Verse 16.
2. *Tiruppanimalai*, Verse 96; *Sritāla*.
3. N. V. Mallaya *Tantras : muccaya* p., 177.
4. J. Dubreuil—*Dravidian Architecture*, Eng. Trans. Dr. S. K. Iyengar, p. 7.

The Hindu temple was not a display of constructional methods. While these were kept in mind they were subordinated to the final appearance of the outer surface as laid down in the *śastras*. This does not mean that "the Hindus were not architects. Sculpture was never thought of as a mural decoration but as an integral part of the wall itself, in high or low relief, it accentuates the architectural line without ever damaging it[1]".

The Madurai temple is an outstanding example of Dravidian architecture as it reached its climax. This vast mass of shrines *mandapas*, corridors, and *gopuras* is fully ornamented, the decorations sometimes being in such abundance that no part of the architectural surface underneath is visible. "The great Hindu pagoda with its picturesque gateways and pillared halls produces a grand effect whilst the deeply cut sculptures thrown into strong relief by brilliant sunlight are unsurpassed for variety and elaboration"[2].

Next to its tall *gopuras* the most interesting feature of the Maduras temple are the pillars of which there are literally thousands. These pillars could be classified into four broad divisions, namely, a simple cubical pillar with or without an attached column; cubical pillars with *yālis* or horses substituted in place of the attached column; pillars with iconographic or mythological sculputres; and lastly pillars with portrait statues[3]. The compound cubical pillar is fully ornamented exhibiting a high degree of creative designing. The *yāli* pillars reveal the most fanciful creations. The iconographic sculptures are a synthesis of art and religion, of legend and philosophy while the portrait sculptures show the Indian craftsman's power of characterisation.

WOOD CARVINGS: The ornamental *yāli* sculptured stone pillars of the Madurai temple exhibit the patience and skill expended

1. Rambach and Golish: *The Golden Age of Indian Art*, p. 21.

2. Major Cole: *Preservation of National Monuments—India.*

3. The plain or composite pillars are referred to at different places describing the shirnes or *mandapas*. The pillars with iconographic or mythological figures, are described in the notes relating to *Kambattadi*, the Thousand Pillar and the *Pudu mandapas*. Pillars with portrait statues are dealt with in the section on Portrait Sculptures.

on these intricately carved and highly finished monolithic piers. They have won praise even from hostile critics, but it is not so well known that the Madurai temple contains some fine specimens of wood carvings, most of which survive at present only on a few doors of different *gopuras* and in a solitary *mandapa*. Owing to the nature of the material many specimens of wood carving that must have existed once must have perished and lost for ever. One great piece of wood carving fortunately still exists and this is the door of the eastern *gopura*. Only one leaf of this huge door is now in its place. The other leaf is kept in an adjoining chamber, access to which is not easy. This huge door is in a rather decayed state. However, one could see how glorious it must have looked in its original state when it was freshly covered and painted. It would be desirable that this old specimen of wood carved and its companion piece could be safeguarded from the ravages of weather and decay before it is entirely lost to posterity.

The Amman Sannidhi *gopura* has its two doors richly carved and ornamented and most of these carvings are in a better state of preservation. The cross battens are carved with scroll work with ornamental nails fixed at the crossing points. The panels within the framework have carved figures in high relief. These figures appear to have been carved separately and inserted in their places in the door afterwards. Two small ornamental pillars, also carved in wood, are inserted on either side of each figure. This was perhaps done to prevent the carved panel from falling out. However, it gives the whole an appearance of a *mandapa* with the idol or other figure in its centre. There are 66 panels but six panels on the wicket door are plain. Perhaps the wicket door itself is a late addition.

A similar specimen to that of the Amman Sannidhi *gopura* door could be seen at the *Nadu Kattu Gopura* just to the north of it. This door has 72 panels and the carvings on the battens and the panels are in the same manner as those of the Amman Sannidhi door.

One of the chambers in the *Kadaka Gopura* has a smaller door which is very richly carved and ornamented. Its battens carry an all-over pattern and its nails are well finished. The panels are

filled with carvings of lotuses which, however, differ from one another in small details, a fact which could be noticed only if one looks for it. Otherwise the flowers appear to be all alike. This door, owing to its secluded location, is in a very good state of preservation.

The *Kalyāna Mandapa* in the Madurai temple has a canopy which is the delight of wood carvers. Although modern, it can hold its own with any older specimen. Its multi-foliated corbels, its richly carved and panelled beams, its beautiful lotuses with central pendants and its carved wooden panels require minutest examination before one could see and appreciate all the wealth of detail that has been put into this diminutive structure. The structural form of its ceiling recalls the stone work of the *Kilikatti Mandapa* and shows that in India the stone mason and the wood carver drew their inspiration from each other.

The *Kalyāna Mandapa* has another specimen of wood craft. In front of its old *mandapa* a new hall with a nave and an aisle on each side with timber roofing has been erected in recent years by Nāttukottai Settis.

CEILINGS: Temple ceilings are usually painted with iconographic or legendary subjects as in the *Kilikatti Mandapa* or with ornamental notifs as in the *Chitra Mandapa* round the Golden Lily Tank, but the stone ceilings in some of the *mandapas* have carved panellings. These are not executed just for decorative purposes but follow certain canons of the *Silpa Sāstras*. Most of these are known as *Rāsi Chakras* and have the twelve signs of the Hindu zodiac. Many such *chakras* are to be seen on the ceilings in the Madurai temple. In the *Pudu Mandapa* itself three such large carvings could be seen in the central nave. One of these is in the middle almost opposite Tirumala Nāyaka's statue. It shows a plot divided into 49 squares with the *Brahmasthānam* occupiyng the central twentyfive squares The eight *dikpālas*, *ashtanāgas* and *ashta rihis* occupy the twentyfour squares surrounding the *Brahmasthānam*,. The *Bhahmasthānam* has a large figure carved on it but so far it has not been possible to identify this figure. The figure has a hanging *jatā*, has a moustache and protruding teeth. It has *yajnopavita* and *udarabhanda* and is seated with feet touching each other and the hands resting on the thighs. On its body are carved several mystic *yantras* and *lingas*.

Thus over the feet is a *linga* and in the abdomen is a segment with another *linga* and over that a triangle with a *linga*. Above the triangle is a *shatkona* with a dancing Natarāja. On the forehead is another *linga*. Surya and Chandra each carved in a medallion are on the two sides of the head. Above Surya and Chandra are two heavenly *rishis* each riding a cloud. Between the head and the outer row of squares is a longish panel illustrating evidently the Madurai legend, for it shows the *Ālavāy* snake with Minākshi Amman on the left, Lord Sundaresvara within a shrine supported by the *ashtagajas* in the centre and the *kadamba* tree on the right. The area round this big panel is in an unfinished state. It is a border representing a river or water course with many kinds of fishes, crabs, shells and conches. The western side is partly carved but the other side contain only the preliminary drawing for purposes of carving.

A similar panel could be seen on the ceiling of the *Āsthāna Mandapa* at the Tirupparankunram temple. It shows that the plot is divided into sixtyfour squares, the *Brahmasthānam* occupying is thrity-six squares. The twentyeight surrounding squares are filled with carvings of various animals. The centre panel representing the *Brahmasthānam* is almost identical with that in tha *Pudu Mandapa*.

The *Minākṣi Nayaka Mandapa* has a more decoratively carved *Rāsi Chakra* panel. The border squares have the signs of the zodiac carved on them. The centre contins a beautifully carved seated Devi figure with *vina* in a lotus medallion. A similarly carved *Rasi Chakra* but with a carving of a seated figure as in the *Pudu Mandapa* is in the *Muthurama Aiyar Mandapa*. These two panels are smaller in size.

In the *Vira Vasantaraya Mandapa* is a panel of nine squares, the eight outer squares each containing a dancing figure. All these figures form one group of *kolāttam* dancers and the carvings show good action. Unfortunately the carvings are rather mutilated and damaged. It is a pity that electric wiring and pendant blocks have been used indiscriminately on many of these ceiling panels without any regard to their beauty or their importance.

The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* contains a large carving of fortyfour panels which contain not only the zodiacal signs but

also many representations of gods and goddesses and of some important legends, like that of Kannappar, Mānikkavācaka Sambandar, and Siddhar. A numbered key drawing is attached which would make the location of the panels easy.

An exquisite piece of stone carving is found in the Kūdal Alagar temple at Madurai. It is a pierced stone window of an intertwined creeper with flower buds, human figures and animal filling the inner spaces. The whole of this foliated notif starts from a base on which Krishna and His two consorts are carved with great care and attention even to minute details. The work on such a small scale is really to be admired.

PAINTINGS: The Madurai temple cannot boast of any old frescoes but it does contain quite a large collection of paintings of a legendary or decorative character which are very interesting and instructive provided one does not mind their age or their artistic merits. As the temple centres round the 64 *lilas* of Sundaresvara it is but natural that one finds wherever one turns some illustration or other of the legends of the *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāna*. In stuccos on the *gopuras*, in sculptures on the pillars and in paintings on the walls, the mason, the sculptor and the painter have vied with one another in depicting the Lord's *lilas*.

The paintings on the walls of the *Chitra Mandapa* round the Golden Lily Tank have won wide fame from remote times. These panels completely illustrate all the *lilas* of Sundaresvara as narrated in the *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāna*. As each *lila* is depicted in detail one could follow the story step by step almost like a cinematographic film. The paintings which one sees today are very recent work having been done about the beginning of this century. They are painted on wooden panels which are fixed to the walls. The older paintings were done directly on the walls in the usual tempera colours but even these paintings were not probably of great age as various authorities have reported that the paintings were renewed frequently. Through chinks in the wooden panel one finds that the older painting on the wall surface still remains and that the modern wood panel paintings have been fixed over them. It is quite likely if one of these modern panels is removed one may be able to see

the older painting still underneath it. Some of the old photograph probably represent these older paintings but as the photographs are not colour-correct one could not judge them properly. The whole series of 64 *lilas* are also carved in small wooden panels in the *Kalyāna Mandapa*.

Perhaps the oldest fragments of painting existing in the temple are the large panels close to the ceiling on the southern wall of the Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra* near the *Nadukkottu Gopura* There are about three and a half panels. The rest of the paintings have disappeared. Even these panels that are seen today are in a very bad state with large areas worn out and much of the painted surface spoiled by splashes of whitewash. Enough remains to help us understand what these paintings represent. The first one and a half panels represent Minākshi's marriage and the next panel represents Sundaresvara with Manonmani and Minākshi. Part of the paintings representing the marriage scene is covered over and later figures probably of a Nāyaka ruler and his ministers are introduced The half panel on the right depicts a gathering of women (goddesses) at the wedding ceremony. Part of two figures in the front are covered over with a background colour from their waist down. Two figures wearing *dhoti* and turban with *rudrāksha* necklace and armlets are seen with *anjali hastas* within this framework. They are probably two of the *sthānikas*. That this framework with its background colour and two figures is a later addition could be easily seen as traces of the original painting are visible where the background colour has fallen off. In the larger panel which shows Vishnu giving away the bride to Lord Sundaresvara a similar gathersing appears but this group is of men (gods) only. The bottom portion of this group from the waist down of the men is covered by a coat of pains over which five figures are painted. The figure on the extreme left appears to have in his hand a crown. The next figure in *anjali* pose represents perhaps the Nāyaka ruler himself. The next two other figures are in court dress of the period and perhaps represent the Dalavāy and the minister. The last figure again is perhaps that of another *sthānika*. This scene probably represents the annual *mudisudal* ceremony at the temple which Tirumala Nāyaka inaugu rated for the first time. A description of the ceremony is given elsewhere. This wall painting shows Tirumala Nāyaka himself partici

pating in the ceremony. If so, one can date this painting from Tirumala Nāyaka's own days, especially as there is no evidence that it has been renewed or restored subsequently. The painting becomes a contemporary record and so is of great value. As this *mudisudal* scene is an over-painting on an underlying earlier work, the scene depicting Minākshi's marriage, therefore, must be considered to belong to an earlier period, perhaps of the 15th or 16th century. The style of painting also corresponds to work of that period. The same period should be assigned to the painting of Minākshi and Sundaresvara in the next large panel.

A much smoke-laden series of paintings depicting all the *Periya Purāna* stories is in the first *prākāra* of the Amman Sannidhi. These may be as old or a little later than the fragmentary painting on the southern wall of the Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra*. This is in any case older than the wood panel paintings in the *Citra Mandapa* in the Golden Lily Tank. One could see mediaeval Pandya inscriptions on the wall in the places where these paintings have peeled off.

THE TWO WORLDS: On the north and south walls of the *Kalyāna Mandapa* are two large paintings of the Two Worlds according to Hindu Cosmology. These two circles which are about six feet in diameter are well executed but badly damaged. They are of local interest also as the Pandya Kingdom and the Malayaparvata (Podiya hills) are mentioned in this ancient classification of *Bhārata Varsha*. A number of identifying names are given but as most of these are worn out and as the painting is high on the wall it was difficult to get much help from these names. It is well known that existing texts dealing with this subject are corrupt and imperfect. Other ancient nations and religions have their own theories about cosmography which is receiving increased attention from scientists today. It would be useful if this old painting could be carefully restored and preserved.

The *Ashtasakti Mandapa* and the *Kilikatti Mandapa* have two modern paintings which are probably based on older works relating to the *Tāntric* concept of the Goddess. In the *Ashtasakti Mandapa* the Goddess is shown in the central *prabhāvali* standing to the right of Lord Sundaresvara and Manonmani who are seated

on a *pitha* with *puja dhravya* in front. Below the *prabhāvali* is a *yantra*. The *prabhāvali* is supported by lions. On the right of the *prabhāval* is Minākshi mounted on a Rishabha while on the left are Minākshi-Sundaresvara in the aspect of Rishabhāruda. In a panel below are *Kāmadhenu, Padmanidhi, Gajalakshmi, Sankhanidhi* and *Cintāmani*. In the architrave of this *mandapa* are stucco figures showing the birth of Minākshi, her coronation, her rule as queen, her meeting with Sundaresvara, their marriage and their rule, the birth of Ugrapāndya and the investment of Ugrapāndya with weapons. There are some paintings of *yantras* described as *Asvārūdam, Syāmalai, Tripurasundari, Vālāparamesvari* and *Ādigauri*.

The painting in the *Kilikatti Mandapa* shows Minākshi-Sundaresvara seated on a swing within two enclosures which are described as the *Manidvipam* where the Ambika dwells. On the two side panels there are *Padmanidhi* and *Sankhanidhi, Kāmadhenu, Kalpaka Vriksha* and *Cintāmani*.

JEWELS: The Madurai temple is very rich in jewels used for the God and Goddess on different festival occasions. Some of the pieces date back to Tirumala Nāyaka's time or even earlier, but most of the more ancient jewels have been lost through pillage and plunder during the troublous times of the mediaeval period. Some of the older jewels have of course been renewed or restored from time to time. Variety of *kritas*, coiffures and chignons, all set with various gems and pearls on a gold backing, delight the eye of the spectator. Pearl and gold *kavacas* are other important items besides the usual head ornaments, *makara kandis*, *padakkams*, necklaces and pearl *hāras*. Jewelled symbols for God and Amman form a major part of the collection[1].

1. Among the jewels is a gem-studded stirrup presented by Rous Peter, a Collector in Madurai during the early years of the 19th century. Another article which, though not a jewel, is still of some interest is a large silver vessel measuring 30 inches high and 24 inches in diameter with an inscription reading "Presented by Messrs. Katz Bros., owners of 'SS Meanatchy' to the temple of the Madura Meenatchy Ummen in token of the satisfaction and pleasure experienced in dealing with the merchants of Southern India and in appreciation of the name given by them to the steamer". An inscription in Tamil is also engraved on this vessel.

A large pearl canopy measuring about six feet square is an exquisite specimen of Indian needlecraft. This precious piece of velvet has its large central panel worked entirely in pearls. Surrounding this panel are five borders variously worked in gold and silver threads. The outermost border is a narrow one with a scallop motif. The next border has an embroidered floral creeper design worked in silk thread. The third border has *hamsa* motifs worked in gold and silver threads with outlines in pearls. The fourth border has lions and winged *kinnaras* with creeper ornament in the intervening spaces. This border is intricately worked in silk and silver threads. The fifth border has the design of parrots worked into a floral design. This border is entirely in pearls. The large centre panel has a lotus medallion in the middle surrounding which is a circle of parrots. The corners are filled with leogryphs and other mythical beasts and figures which are perhaps creations of the artist's fancy. This entire panel is worked in pearls. The designs are so drawn that each enclosing border stands out and the entire canopy presents a very pleasing combination of design and workmanship. This historic and valuable specimen of a not too common Indian craft needs to be preserved more carefully.

VAHANAS: As the Madurai temple celebrates one festival or other in all the months of the year there are a large number of *vāhanas* for the God and Goddess. Most of the *vāhanas* are silver or gold plated and are large and heavy. Many of them are very good specimens of craftsmanship. The Rishabha *vāhana* of the Madurai temple is a famed one, but artistically one of the best is the horse *vāhana*. The horse is well proportioned and its trappings richly ornamented. The *kariuritha vāhana* which represents the Gajāsura legend is a highly conventionalised form ingeniously worked into the shape of the *prabhāvali*. The *Bhuta vāhana* is another good piece of workmanship very spirited for all its massiveness.

C. ICONOGRAPHIC SCULPTURES

The great wealth of iconographic images found in the Madurai temple is helpful for a study of Hindu mythology. It is doubtful whether any other temple in South India has the same multitude of carvings, stuccos, and paintings of gods and goddesses as the Madurai temple possesses. "The one *māhātmya* that has contributed very

largely to the multiplication of images of Śiva is the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* or the one pertaining to God Śiva at Madura, the capital of the Pāndyas"[1]. It is no wonder then that the Mīnākshi-Sundaresvara temple and its neighbourhood should be intimately connected with the many Śiva *murthams* of the *āgamas* and of the Śiva *lilas* in the *purānas*. Some particular edifices are well known for the iconographic sculptures on their pillars: for instance, the *Kambattadi Mandapa* and the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The *Pudu Mandapa* has iconographic and mythological sculptures as well as portraits of Nāyakas. Many of the *gopuras* contain stuccos relating to the Śaiva pantheon and *purānas*.

The *Kambattadi Mandapa* being situated just in front of Svāmi Sannidhi and containing as it does the *Nandi Mandapa* and the *dhvajasthambhas*, naturally has all its sculptures relating only to Siva *murthams*. Going round the pillars of the *mandapa* in a *pradakshina* the first one on the pillar on the left is the well-known Mīnākshi-Sundaresvara marriage group. The sculpturing, though done as late as 1870, is a magnificent piece of Hindu craftsmanship and is in some ways better than a similar sculpture in the *Pudu Mandapa* which, of course, must have been done during Tirumala Nāyaka's days. This scene shows Siva standing on the right with his right hand just holding Mīnākshi's right hand while Vishnu on the left is pouring the *kannikādāna* water out of a pot. Behind the wedding group is sculptured a beautiful decorative tree. This is perhaps the *karpaga vriksha* presented to Mīnākshi by Indra during her *digvijaya*. The expression on the three principal parties to the happy event is most beautifully rendered and one must note especially the shy face of Mīnākshi which has yet an expressive smile. Below the group is Brahmā performing the marriage *homa* while two ladies are busy with the *ājya pātras*. Making due allowance for the spatial limitation imposed by the pillar, it could be seen that the sculpturing follows the *āgamas* details closely.

On the same pillar is Tripurāri on the southern face, a *devi* on the western face and Somasundara on the northern face.

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1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. ii, p. 408.

TRIPURANTAKAMURTI : There are a number of sculptures relating to Tripurāntakamurti in the temple. An identical sculpture like the one in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* just referred to is in the *Pudu Mandapa*. Two other forms of Tripurāntaka, one in the *Pudu Mandapa* and another in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*, are also to be seen. The image refers to the destruction by Mahādeva of the three sons of Tārakāsura. Though the story is given in the *Karna Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, it is stated to be based on much older accounts in the *Samhitas* and *Brāhmanas*. No less than eight forms of Tripurāntakamurti are described. The sculpture in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Śiva as driving a chariot. His right foot rests on a part of the chariot and the left leg is planted in the front. Brahmā is the charioteer. Vishnu is the arrow, Agni its barb, Yama its feather, the Vedas make the bow and Sāvitri its bow-string[1]. The *Pudu Mandapa* statue is better posed and has more action, its ornamental details are more carefully finished than that in the *Kambattadi*, but unfortunately parts of the sculpture are mutilated. Another beautifully sculptured Tripurāri is also in the *Pudu Mandapa*. Though the image is in the same pose there is no chariot and the God is mounted only on a *pitha*. There is a Ganeśa figure just below the God. As a sculpture of Mināksh on her *digvijaya* is on a pillar just opposite, this image may perhaps be Śiva as He met her on the occasion. The most beautiful of these Tripurāntakamurtis is the one in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* between the figures of Ganeśa and Pāndyarāja. It is one of the most carefully executed sculptures. The whole figure looks more like a goldsmith's work rather than a stone mason's. Its vigour and expression are remarkable. It is full of life. The arrow-head has the figure of Vishnu very intricately carved on such a small scale. Luckily this piece has escaped with only minor damages.

SOMASUNDARA : The label describes this as Somasundara, but evidently it is Umāsahitamurti. The image of Śiva is in the same form as described for Sukhāsanamurti and the Devi is seated on the left of the same seat facing Śiva. Her right leg is bent and the left leg hangs over the seat. The Umāsahitamurti on this pillar may perhaps be taken to represent the form in which

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 165.

Śiva and Pārvati gave *darśan* to their devotees after their marriage, which event is also figured on the same pier.

SUKHASANA : The next pillar in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* has Sukhāsana, Mārkandeya and Kālaharamurti images. The image which is labelled Sukhāsana shows Śiva with the Devi on His left. His front hands are in the *abhaya* and *varada* pose, His back right hand holds what appears to be an *akshamāla* while his left back hand holds a *sula*. Śiva's right leg hangs in front of the seat. Devi has two hands. In the right hand she holds a flower, the left hand is placed on the *pitha*. Devi's left leg is hanging over the seat. Also Śiva's left leg is resting on the right leg of the Devi. Perhaps this image is a form of Umāmahesvaramurti.

KALAHARAMURTI : This image refers to the well-known Mārkandeya legend when Lord Śiva saved His young and ardent devotee Mārkandeya from the god of death, Yama. The image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Śiva vanquishing Kāla or Yama. In His back right hand Śiva holds *sula* pointing down, the other right hand holds the axe. His back left hand has the *mrga* and the front left hand has the skull. Siva's right leg is placed on the *pitha* while the left leg is placed on the neck of Kāla. Mārkandeya clinging to the *linga* is sculptured on the adjoining face.

NATARAJA : In the third pillar in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is the figure of Śiva as Natarāja. There are Natarāja images in the *Velliyambala Mandapa, Mandapa Nāyaka Mandapa* and the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. On the wedding day of Minākshi-Sundaresvara Śiva is said to have specially danced as Natarāja to give *darsan* to the sages Vyāghrapāda and Patanjali who had come to attend the marriage and who would not take their daily food without having *darsan* of the god at Chidambaram. So Śiva danced for their sake again at Madurai. This shows that after Chidambaram, Madurai is most intimately connected with the dance of Natarāja. While the Natarāja shrine in Madurai temple is known as the Rajata Sabhā or Velliyambalam that of Chidambaram is known as Kanakasabhā. "The Sabhā at Madurai, the capital of the Pāndyas, had a covering of silver. The Cholas might have desired to outdo the Pāndyas in their regard for their family deity and hence covered the Sabha,

not with silver as the Pāndyas had done but with gold."[1] In the Velliyambalam Śiva is shown with the right leg lifted and left leg placed on the *apasmāra*, but in Chidambaram He is shown dancing with the left leg raised. This latter is the most common form of the image seen in Śaiva temples. The image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* belongs to this popular vervion. Śiva has a *jatāmakuta*. The back left hand carries *agni* and the front left hand is in the *gajahasta* pose across the body. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the back right hand holds the *damaru*. The right leg is placed on *apasmāra*, the left leg is lifted up and rests on the head of a cobra which *apasmāra* holds in his hand. The image is somewhat static owing perhaps to the limitations imposed by the narrow width of the pillar. Pārvati stands on the left. Below the dancing Natarāja is Nandi with four hands. His front two hands play on the drum and his two back hands hold the axe and the deer. On each side of Nandi are the sages, Vyāghrapāda and Patanjali. On the adjoining face of this pillar is Vishnu playing on a *pataka*, a sort of drum perhaps, while Tumburu and Nārada supply vocal music. The emaciated figure of Kāli may also be seen. On the next adjoining face of the pillar is Brahmā playing on the cymbals. The frieze includes other sages and gods, who attended the dance. The sculpture of Kāma-Dahanar is on the north face of this pillar.

The fourth pillar in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* has Chandrasekhara, Lingodbhava, Rishabhāntika and Rāvanānugrahamurti. The Chandrasekharamurti is the form in which Siva is seen with His consort Pārvati and is known as Umāsahita Chandrasekhara. The sculpture on this pillar corresponds with the description given in the *āgamas*. Siva and Pārvati stand on the same pedestal in the *samapāda* pose. Siva's forehands are in the *abhaya varada* pose. The back hands hold the *tanka* and *mriga*. The god is fully ornamented with pearl necklaces and *ratnahāras* with *padakkas*, with *canna vira* and *udarabandha*. The sculpturing is highly conventionalised and modern.

RISHABHANTIKA : This is almost like Rishabhāruda with Śiva and Pārvati seated on the bull. This is perhaps by the same artist who did Chandrasekhara image as the style is

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part i, p. 230

almost the same. One peculiarity in this form is that the bull lifts its head up as though looking at the seated Lord. This peculiarity is not explained in the published iconographic texts. It may be only a clever devise of the sculptor to get the bull's head out of the way of the Lingodbhava image carved on the same pillar close to this. It may perhaps be a Vrishabhavāhana image modified to suit the space available on the pillar. In this image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* Śiva has an axe and deer in His back hands. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose but the front left hand is resting on His thigh. The right leg of Śiva is hanging and the left leg bent on the seat while Pārvati's right leg is bent and the left leg is hanging. Śiva's right foot is hanging free without the usual support of the conventional lotus as seen below Pārvati's left foot.

LINGODBHAVAMURTI: The image of Lingodbhava is invariably found on the western wall of the *garbhagriha* of Śiva temples. This image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is carved to the right of Rishabhāntika. The *linga* on which the *murti* is carved is almost a square pillar with all straight edges rounded off. The figure of Śiva is carved as usual in these figures as emerging out of the *linga* with the feet hidden within the *linga*.

The *Kambattadi* sculpture closely follows the *āgamas* and Śiva is represented in the aspect of Chandrasekhara. The parts of His leg below the knee are unsculptured. Śiva holds the axe and the deer in His back hands. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the front left rests on the thigh. A swan with Brahmā's head and arms is carved in low relief on the top part of the *linga*. Vishnu with the boar's head is shown burrowing at the foot of the *linga*. Brahmā stands in *anjali* pose on the right while Vishnu in a similar pose is sculptured on the left face of the *linga*. Lingodbhavamurti is historically an old one and is found sculptured in the Kailāsanāthasvāmi temple and in the Dasāvatāra cave at Ellora. At Kilamāttur in the Śiva temple, there is a fine old image of Lingodbhava showing Śiva emanating from the pillar of fire with Brahmā flying above and Vishnu with a boar's head digging the earth to reach the bottom. Two images of Brahmā and Vishnu stand on right and left side of this pillar respectively. The work is perhaps a relic from the 10th century structure.

RAVANANUGRAHAMURTI: Two sculptures of the episode of Rāvana under Kailāsa are in the Madurai temple. One is in the *Pudu Mandapa* and the other, almost a copy of it, is in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. Of the two the *Pudu Mandapa* relief is more finely executed and is the better known work.

The *Pudu Mandapa* sculpture shows Śiva seated on the right with Pārvati on the left as in the aspect of Umāsahitamurti. Below their seat is a conventional representation of Kailāsa with many sages praising the Lord while Rāvana kneels below with his ten heads and twenty hands, singing Śiva's praise.

The *Kambattadi Mandapa* sculpture is almost similar except for a more elaborately worked *pitha*. The pose of the front hands of Śiva are also slightly different. While anger and agitation could be seen in the representation of Rāvana everything is calm and wonderfully poised on top of Kailāsa where Śiva sits in company with Pārvati, His consort. Rāvana under Kailāsa is represented even in early works as, for instance, in Ellora where it is a most often repeated subject. The panel in the Dhumarlena cave is the largest and is considered to be the most beautiful. Rāvana in all these earlier specimens is represented as facing the Kailāsa mountain and showing his back to the spectator. His arms are thus grasped round the Kailāsa as though trying to uproot it. The later versions showing him as in the *Pudu Mandapa* sculpture gives one the impression that he is supporting the mountain.

The next row of four pillars are to the right of the *Nandi Mandapa*. The first pillar on this side has the sculptures of Chakradāra, Rishabhāruda, Ekapādamurti, Sankaranārāyana and Ardhanari.

CHAKRADARAMURTI : Chakradāramurti or Vishnu Anugrahamurti shows Siva presenting the discus to Vishnu.

VRISHABHAVAHANAMURTI: This is one of the most popular forms in which Śiva is worshipped in South India. The *Kambattadi* sculpture shows Śiva and Parvati seated on the back of the bull. They are represented in the same aspect as that of Umāsahitamurti. Śiva holds the axe and the deer in His back hands while the front hands are in the *abhaya* and *varada*

poses. Śiva's right leg is hanging and the foot rests on a lotus. Pārvati's left foot rests in a similar manner on a lotus.

EKAPADAMURTI: An Ekapādamurti is sculptured on the same side on which Rishabhāruda is sculptured in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. Another figure of the same image is also sculptured in the *Pudu Mandapa*. There is an important difference between the two representations. The sculpture in the *Pudu Mandapa* has Brahmā issuing from the right side of Śiva and Vishnu from the left. Brahmā and Vishnu have no legs as represented in some of the earlier sculptures but their front hands are held in *anjali* pose while their back hands hold their respective symbols. Brahmā is represented with only one head in this sculpture. In the *Kambattadi Mandapa* the Ekapādamurti shows only Śiva. Brahmā and Vishnu are not represented. However, since there are three contiguous shrines, sculptured on the base of the pillar immediately below this figure, it may perhaps be taken as one of the different modes of representing Ekapada Trimurti referred to by T. A. Gopinatha Rao[1].

ARDHANARI : Ardhanāri which is sculptured on the north face of this pillar represents the well-known half-woman half-man form of Śiva. The figure in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Śiva with axe and *abhaya* pose while Pārvati's hand is hanging down. Thus the figure has three hands. A similar figure in *Pudu Mandapa* shows Pārvati with two hands with the front hand hanging down. The *Pudu Mandapa* statue is not only larger than the one in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*, but is more carefully finished.

HARIHARA : This sculpture which is to the left of Ardhanāri in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* represents another popular form of composite image with Śiva on the right half and Vishnu on the left half of the figure. The Śiva portion has the attributes of Śiva while the left half has the attributes of Vishnu. The right arm of Śiva is in *abhaya* pose and its back arm holds the axe. Vishnu has the *śank* in the left back hand and the *gada* on the left forearm. On a similar statue of Harihara in *Pudu Mandapa* the left forearm of Vishnu is held in the *kataka* pose. The idol is a large one and is most finely executed and is a superb specimen of its kind.

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part i, p. 40 1.

DAKSHINAMURTI : On the north face of the pillar is a sculpture of Dakshināmurti. The image shows Him seated under a banyan tree on Mount Kailāsa engaged in *yoga*. His left leg is placed on his right leg which hangs and is resting on a figure of *apasmāra*. *Rshis* and sages are seen worshipping. The connected story of how Śiva as Manmatadahanar burnt Kāma who was induced by the *devas* to tempt Śiva and rouse in Him the creative desire is sculptured on the pillar on the opposite side and facing the Dakshināmurti image just mentioned. A shrine dedicated to Dakshināmurti is on the south wall of the *garbhagriha* of the Sundaresvara shrine. A very old image of Vyākhyāna Dakshināmurti is in the Kilamāttur temple in which Śiva is seated on a rock. Śiva wears a *jatābhāra*. His front right hand has the *jnāna mudra* pose and the back right hand is indistinct as it is worn out. The left front hand is in the *varada* pose with a book resting on the palm. The back left hand holds perhaps the fire or a serpent. It is not very distinct. Śiva's right leg is hanging and the left leg is in the *utkutikāsana* pose. There are two *hāras* on Śiva's shoulder. The figure may be attributed to the late Pallava or early Chola period.

GAJAHARAR : On the next pillar in the east in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is the sculpture of Gajaharar. There are two figures of Gājaharar in the Madurai temple, one in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* and another in the *Pudu Mandapa*. Both are almost similar in treatment, though the *Kambattadi Mandapa* image is more ornamental and conventionalised. Both suffer from a certain amount of static action. This may perhaps be due to an attempt to carve a large figure within the narrow width of a pillar. Śiva has eight hands and two back hands hold the hide of the elephant. The other three right hands hold the axe, the *sula* and the arrow. The three left hands hold the deer, the skull and the bow. The left leg rests on the elephant's head while the right leg instead of being bent is thrown forward to rest on the elephant's hide. Figures of sages are shown in the act of adoration at the base of the image.

The terrified figure of Pārvati with her child Skanda is carved on a side face of the *Kambattadi* pillar.

CHANDESANUGRAHAMURTI : The figure of Chandesānugrahamurti is perhaps based on the story narrated in the *Periya Purānam*. The carving in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Siva tying the *nirmālya* garland round Chandesa's head.

BHIKSHATANA: Coming to the last pillar in the series one finds a concentration of some important iconographic legends just as the opposite member to this pillar has the sculptured panels of Minākshi's marriage and other important icons. The Madurai temple has a number of sculptures of Bhikshātana of which some of the largest are in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*, the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*, the *Mudali Mandapa* and in Svāmi shrine first *prākāra*, not to mention the stucco figures and niche reliefs on the *gopuras*. The Bhikshātana in the Svami Sannidhi first *prākāra* is a large sculpture and is under worship. A metal image about three feet high which is also by its side is taken out in procession on occasions. As both these images are in a dark and enclosed cubicle one cannot observe them more carefully, but the best of the Madurai temple Bhikshātanas is of course the one in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The sculpturing is very well done and the ornaments and the *jatābandha* are very carefully carved. The figure is more than six feet high. It has four arms, the back right arm holds the *damaru* and the front right hand rests on the head of the antelpoe. The back left hand holds the *sula* which is laid across the shoulder. The front left hand has the *kapāla*. Bhikshātana is dressed with only a snake coiled round him. He has bells on his leg and stands wearing sandals. On Bhikshātana's left is a dwarf with a vessel to collect the alms offered by the wives of the *rshis*. A figure of Anusuya and other *rshi patnis* are carved on the other faces of this pillar. The *Kambattadi* sculpture of Bhikshātana stands next to Rudra and though the sculptor had the earlier example of the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* to guide him his work is not of a high order. The limbs are disproportionate and not well modelled. The antelope is rather crude. The symbols held in the hands and posture are the same as in the earlier sculpture. There are no *rshi patnis*, however, in the *Kambattadi* version.

RUDRA : The figure of Rudra is carved next to Bhikshātana in the *Kambattadi* pillar. The right arms are mutilated. They have been restored in a crude manner with a stucco or cement perhaps. There-

is not much action in this sculpture and it is not known what aspect of Rudra the sculpture represents exactly. A flaming *jata* mounts the head and the figure has heavy moustaches and fangs. It is heavily ornamented. The following symbols are in the four right hands: the trident, the axe and an arrow with the head of a figure and a sword. The four left hands hold the skull, the deer, the bell and the shield. Rudra stands on a prostrate *asura* with His trident piercing the *asura's* neck. In the *Vira Vasantaraya Mandapa* are two figures of Rudra and Rudrakāli of which the Rudra sculpture is the most spirited of the two. The *jata* is treated in a very stylised manner as usual in sculptures of this period as may be seen at Tenkasi and elsewhere in this region. The work is very refined and Rudra has not the same fierceness with which he is represented in many of the later works. There is a *linga* in the *jata* usually found in statues of Virabhadra. This Rudra figure has only four hands of which the front right hand is broken. Perhaps it held a sword as the corresponding shield is in the front left hand. The back right hand holds the axe and the back left hand holds the deer. His garlands are richly carved. The lowermost garland is strung with heads. The figure of Rudra wears knee ornaments and anklets. Sandals are worn on the feet. Under the feet is a prostrate figure whose left arm is broken. In the right arm the figure holds a dagger. The point of the broken sword of Rudra is seen pierced through the neck of the fallen figure.

KIRATARJUNAMURTI : This represents the story in the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* which relates how Arjuna did great penance to obtain from Śiva the *pāśupatāstra* to destroy his enemies. The scene in the *Kambattadi* pillar shows Śiva after He had presented the *pāśupatāstra* to Arjuna who is seen on His right with the bow and arrow. The left arms of Śiva are mutilated. The Madurai sculpture differs from *āgamic* descriptions of the figures.

SOMASKANDA: This important sculpture is also one of the best in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. Śiva and Pārvati are seated in the *sukhasana* pose with a dancing figure of Skanda standing between them. Śiva holds the axe and the deer. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose. The front left hand is in the *simhakarna* pose. Pārvati holds a flower in her right hand and her left hand rests on the pedestal. Skanda holds a flower in each hand. The child wears a *karanda makuta*.

A fine old bronze of Somaskanda could be seen at the Tiruvāppudaiyār temple on the northern bank of the Vaigai. The work follows classic lines and the craftsmanship shows remarkable restraint and economy. The front left hand of Siva is in the same *simhakarna* pose as the statue in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*.

Immediately after entering the *Kambattadi Mandapa* from the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura* one finds four huge figures, two on each side, close to the *gopura*. These statues which are nearly eight feet high represent Ūrdhvar, Kāli, Aghora Virabhadra and Agni Virabhadra. Ūrdhvar and Kāli are on the left and the two Virabhadras are on the right as one enters. These sculptures belong to the early Nayaka period and are admittedly excellent specimens of monolithic sculptured pillars.

URDHVAR: This sculpture represents one of the dancing forms of Śiva. This mode of dancing in which Śiva lifted His right leg straight up to the level of His head refers to a contest between Him and Kāli as to who was the better dancer. As Kāli danced equally well in all the forms of dancing, Śiva finally began the *ūrdhva tāndava* which, of course, Kāli, in her modesty, could not perform. There are two statues of Ūrdhvar in the Madurai temple: one is in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* which is already referred to and the other is in the *Pudu Mandapa*. In both Śiva is represented with ten arms.

The symbols held in the ten arms differ to some extent in the *Pudu Mandapa* and *Kambattadi* specimens. In the *Kambattadi Mandapa* sculpture the five right hands hold the drum, the axe, the arrow, the dagger and the *sula*. In the five left hands are fire, deer, arrow, shield and bell. *Apasmāra* is lying below the left foot of Śiva. In the *Pudu Mandapa* statue the five right hands hold the drum, the axe, the sword (?), the *abhaya* pose. Four of the five left hands hold the fire, *pāśa*, shield and the bull standard. The front left hand is in the *gajahasta* pose thrown across the body and right leg. *Apasmāra* with the snake is lying under the left leg. Kāli is in the right and is playing on the *pancamuka vādya* or *kudamulā*. On the base Nandi is sculptured playing on the drum. Brahmā with the cymbals and Vishnu beating the *pataha* are sculptured on the sode faces of this pillar.

This sculpture is one of the masterpieces of the Madurai temple. The disposition of the hands and the legs are well thought out to give the whole piece a balanced poise and a fine sense of action found in no other specimen in the Madurai temple or outside it. The modelling reveals a very good knowledge of form and plastic sense. The excellent treatment of surface and the minute finish of symbols and ornaments do not detract from the merits of the sculpture. Above all the craftsman's great masterliness is revealed in the face which is a very expressive one. Its serene dignity, its conscious omnipotence and the benign smile are characteristics which no one will miss to notice. It is a triumph of modern art and this "most well-known example"[1] could share its merits equally with some of the best known bronzes of Natarāja in South India.

KALI: The figure of Kāli in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is ten armed just as her figure in the *Pudu Mandapa* is. These two Kālis are of heroic size and there is no choice as to which is artistically the more meritorious. Perhaps the earlier scultpure in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* may be said to score on a point or two. The Kāli image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* has a flaming *jata* and in the four right arms it holds the trident, an arrow, a *tanka* and (?). In the four left arms Kali holds the skull, the bow, the noose and the *vajra*. The left foot of Kāli rests on a *gana* who is seen supporting it.

The Kāli in the *Pudu Mandapa* is more fierce looking than her counterpart in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. She has also eight arms. In the four right arms she holds the trident, the arrow, goad and dagger. In her four left hands she holds the *kapala*, the bow, *pasa* and the shield. She is fully ornamented and her left leg rests on the hand of a female *gana*. Both these statues are stated to be forms of Bhadra Kāli.

A figure of Rudra Kali is in the *Vira Vasantaraya Mandapa* next to the image of Rudra. This Kali has flaming *krita* with a five-headed *nāga* behind. She is in the act of dancing and is eight armed. The front right arm is perhaps in the *vismaya* pose. Her three back right hands hold the dagger, the *cakra* (broken) and

1. O. C. Gangoly: *South Indian Bronzes.*

a goad. In her left arms she holds a *kapala*, a shield, a *chank* and a noose. A high *torana* is sculptured over the figure. The dance is not wild and the sculpturing gives a picture of controlled movement.

VIRABHADRA : Images of Virabhadra are more popular in the Telugu districts than in the Tamil country. The Madurai temple has a number of sculptures representing some of the forms of Virabhadra. In the *Kambattadi Mandapa* are two forms, Aghora Virabhadra and Agni Virabhadra. These are early specimens and are as large as the Ūrdhvar and Kāli images referred to above. According to legend Daksha, the father-in-law of Śiva, slighted Him during the *yāga* as a result of which Umā, Śiva's wife, sacrificed herself. Śiva in anger sent Virabhadra and Bhadrakāli to destroy Daksha. The Aghora Virabhadra image in the *Kambattadi* is a noble piece of sculpture full of action in every part of it and with a most expressive face. It is ten-armed and has a *jatāmakuta* with a *linga* in its centre as usual with Virabhadra figures. Stylised flames arise out of the head. It is a fully ornamented figure. In the five right arms the following symbols are seen ; a sword piercing Daksha, an arm lifting an arrow from the quiver, the axe, the *sūla* and the drum. In the corresponding five left arms are a large shield with a carved figure, a bow, the deer, and the thunder bolt. Aghora Virabhadra wears many garlands as described in the *āgamas*.

A much-mutilated figure of Virabhadra is in the Javandisvara shrine, to the south of the Minakshi shrine. Though more ornate, it is in the same style as the figure in the *Vira Vasantaraya Mandapa* and is probably by the same hand. Excepting two hands all the rest of the ten hands are broken and it is not known what symbols were held in them. The figure of Daksha and his wife standing with *anjali hastas* are on the side face of the pillar base.

The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* contains a few more images of Daksha Samhāramūrtis and many of these have the severe style of earlier Dravidian sculptures before it gave in to the flambuoyant manner of Vijayanagar. The best of them is the image on the pillar at the extreme west end of the entrance. This is a strikingly dignified statue. It has a *jatā makuta*, has three eyes and has no fangs. It has the other attributes of Śiva on the ears and in the hands. There are four hands. In the two back hands are held the axe and

the deer, the front right hand has a sword but only the hilt and the point are visible and the rest of the sword is broken. The frond left hand holds the shield. Śiva wears a bell on His right leg ant anklets on both the legs. Śiva has His right foot on a fallen bearded figure who is perhaps Daksha.

A figure of Aghora Virabhadra is executed in a restrained manner on the first pillar immediately above the first flight of steps in the *mandapa*. This figure of Virabhadra has a terrifying look with big hanging moustaches, fangs and protruding teeth. The *jatā* is neatly made up with *linga* in the centre and the circular crown over it has a large *simhamukha* ornament. In the left hand is a shield and in the right hand is the hilt only of the sword. A big garland of skulls hangs from the neck. The left leg is planted on a figure which is trying to rise up and which Virabhadra is vanquishing for he haf his right foot planted firmly on the upraised head. A severed head is already lying near the left foot. This is evidently another reference to the Daksha Samhāra. A sequential representation of another figure relating to Daksha Samhāra is on the south face of this pillar. The figure here has a high *jatā makuta* ornamented with a *simhamukha* on top. It has fangs and only two eyes. It has four hands. The back right hand is seen lifting an arrow from the quiver and the back left hand holds the bow. The front left hand is holding the head of a figure round whom the left leg of the Samhāramūrti is thrown holding him tight. The front right hand is seen cutting off the head of the figure with the sword. The two images on this pillar are alive with action.

Opposite to the Aghora Virabhadra figure is a well-finished and much-ornamented statue with only one of its arms fully visible, the others being broken. The single arm holds a heavy sword lifted high over the head as if to strike. This figure also perhaps refers to Daksha Samhāra as it has a *linga* on its highly ornamented crown. It has heavy moustaches and fangs, wears many necklaces and garlands including one of skulls. It is bare-footed but has anklets. It wears a *yajnopavita*.

The fourth statue in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* (three of which, Ūrdhvar, Kāli and Aghora Virabhadra, have been dealt with already) is a powerful sculpture labelled Agni Virabhadra. The image

is as large as the rest of its companions and its fierce and vigorous action impresses every one who sees it. It has a flaming *jaṭā* and a well-shaped face with flying moustaches over a smiling mouth which, however, has fangs on either side. It has eight hands and the two front hands carry a long trident which is piercing the neck of a fallen figure over whom Virabhadra has planted his left foot. The three remaining right hands hold the *damaru*, sword and (?). The three left hands hold the *kapāla*, the shield and the bell. Many necklaces and garlands adorn the image which is seen with sandals on its feet.

THE ASHTASAKTI : In the *Ashtasakti Mandapa* is a group of eight sculptures representing the eight *śakti* goddesses. They are four on each side of the corridor. On the northern side they are, from east to west, Yajnarūpini, Syāmalai, Mahesvari, Manonmani and on the southern side, from east to west, are Kaumāri, Raudri, Vaishnavi and Mahālakshmi. All the scul-ptured are about five feet in height and are sculptured on the pillars. All these sculptures are in *samabhanga* pose with four hands and excepting Raudri and Manonmani the front hands of all the goddesses are in the *abhayavarada* pose. All the goddesses excepting Raudri and Manonmani wear *kritamakutas*. The Yajnarupini has in her back right hand a *sruva*, the sacrificial spoon, and in her back left hand a flower. Syāmalai next to her has a lotus and a *nilotpala* in her two back hands. Mahesvari has a lotus and a *pāsa* in her two back hands. Manonmani has her front right hand in the *cinmudra* pose with a rosary and her front left hand holds a *nilotpala* flower while her two back hands hold lotus flowers. She has a *jatāmakuta* on her head. Kaumāri has in her two back hands the *sakti* and the *vajrāyudha*. Raudri has a *jatāmakuta* with flames and fangs at the corners of her lips. In her front right hand she holds a *sula* and in the front left a *kapāla*. In the back right hand she holds a *damaru* and in her back left hand a *sanka*. Vaishnavi wears a *krītamakuta tripundra* on her forehead, has protruding fangs and in her back right hand she has a *cakra* and in her back left hand a conch. Mahā-lakshmi has in her two back hands two lotus flowers.

VIGHNESVARA: There are many images of Vighnesvara and Subrahmanya and many shrines dedicated to these gods in the Madurai temple. The Siddhi Vināyaka shrine

in the *Kilikatti Mandapa* is the Sthala Vināyaka ; but the most popular and the more widely known of these Ganapati images is the Mukkuruni Pillaiyār in Svāmi Sannidhi second *prākāra* southern side, opposite to the *Nadukattu Gopura*. This huge image is reported to have been found when the Vandiyūr Teppakulam was dug during Tirumala Nayaka's days. This Vināyaka is four handed and holds in the front right hand the broken tusk and in the back right hand the *ankusa*. In the left hand he holds the cake and in the back left hand the noose. The trunk is touching the cake in his left hand. This Vināyaka is seated on a *padmāsana*. In the *Asthasakti Mandapa* is a beautiful stone sculpture of Mahā Ganapathi on his *vāhana*, the musk rat. Seated on his lap on the left side is a goddess. He is ten-armed and only the following weapons are distinguishable: The *ankusa*, the broken tusk, the *cakra* are seen in three of the right hands. In the left hand the lotus, sugarcane bow, the *pasa* are the only symbols distinguishable. The front left hand is hugging the Devi. The trunk which is hooked to the right holds a pot. A similar, but more highly finished, image of Mahā Ganapati without the musk rat *vāhana* is in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. In his ten arms he holds the same symbols as in the *Ashtasakti Mandapa* image. On the left leg which is bent, sits the Devi. The ruby pot is in the trunk. Perhaps this image served as a model for the one in the *Ashtasakti Mandapaa*. This is one of the best images of Vighnesvara in this temple. Small well-carved images of Nrtta Ganaptis are sculptured on the walls of the *Cinna Mottai Gopura* and *Nadukattu* and other *gopuras*.

SUBRAHMANYA: An image of Shanmukha riding on his vehicle, the peacock, is also in the *Ashtasakti Mandapa*. This fine stone image has six heads and twelve arms. The front hands are in the *abhaya varada* pose and the right hands hold the *tanka*, arrow, sword, discus and noose. The left hands have the *sakti*, a bow, a shield, a flower and the *kukkuta*. A fine image of a four-armed Subrahmanya riding his peacock is in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. This spirited image is full of action and shows probably Subrahmanya as the War Lord. In the two back hands are the *sakti* and *vajrāyuda*. The front right hand is held aloft as if commanding while the front left hand holds the reins of the peacock. The right leg is bent and placed on the peacock's back while the left leg which is in a

stirrup is urging on the peacock. Equally fine low reliefs of Subrahmanya on the peacocb may be seen on the walls of the *Nadukattu* and other *gopuras*.

SARASVATI : Excellent stone carving of a very high order is seen on the statue of a goddess with a *vina* in her hands which is in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. This is usually pointed out as an image of Sarasvati, but it is perhaps Rājamātangi who is described as having one of her feet resting on a lotus and listening to a parrot's talk while playing on the *vina*. As this image has all these attributes and has only two hands she is more likely to be Rājamātangi than Sarasvati. Among the many beautiful sculptures in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* this is one of the best. The treatment of surface, form and anatomy and of minutiae is amazing. The absence of crown on the herd is, however, to be noted. The sculpture is a harmonious combination of artistry and craftsmanship.

KANKALAMURTI : The image of Kankālamūrti in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* differs from *āgamic* description to some extent. He is commonly represented with four-arms. In his left forearm he has the drum which he is seen beating with a stick held in his right arm. His back right arm is touching the mouth of the deer while the back left arm holds the *kankāla danda*. He is draped in fine clothes and has a sword stuck in his girdle and he wears sandals. The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* image shows this *mūrti* with the drum in his back right hand while the front right hand touches the deer. The front left arm holds a bowl and the *sūladanda* is in the back left arm. He is draped and has the sword and sandals as described in the *āgamas*. This image has the same sense of movement as one finds in many other statues in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*, as, for instance, in *angam vettina* Siva, Kannappar, Subrahmanya and others.

MANMATA AND RATI : Two sculptures in the Thourand Pillar *Mandapa* relate to Manmata and his wife, Rati. Manmata is a mutilated figure and the two hands are broken. The tip only of the sugarcane bow held in his left hand is seen. The right hand probably held the characteristic arrow.

Rati has fortunately escaped mutilation. She is beautifully modelled and is seen riding her vehicle, the *hamsa*, whose plumes

are individually carved. Rati's attendant *cauri* bearer is just back of the bird and is another well-moulded figure. The figure of Subrahmanya riding a peacock which is in the same *mandapa* should be compared with this figure of Rati. Though both are shown in the same pose, the figure of Subrahmanya is more expressive of action.

The figure of Mohini which is opposite to Bhikshātana is remarkable for its characterisation and the *rsis* who were tormented by her charms are sculptured on the remaining sides of this pillar. Among other carvings which are equally beautiful but unfortunately unidentifiable are the figures styled Vedan, Arjuna as Pedi, Kaliage and Nāgarāja. Another relief stated to be the "birth" of Ganesa is in the *Pudu Mandapa* and in stuccos and *gopuras*. It shows Ganesa sitting inside the hood of an inverted five-headed snake with Śiva and Pārvati standing on either side. No satisfactory explanation of the legend is available at present. A similar relief relating to Subrahmanya in the *Pudu Mandapa* is also unexplained. A relief in one of the pillars in the central nave on the *Pudu Mandapa* shows Hanuman being nursed after his attempt to catch Surya, the sun. This panel which illustrates the whole of the episode from Hanuman trying to catch the sun and his precipitate fall after the attempt and his being nursed is all very dramatically pictured with the sun rising over the clouds.

A relief of a figure with the head of a Vighnesvara, the trunk and hands of a woman and the legs of a tiger is found on one of the pillars of the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. This same figure is also found in various other places in the temple and yet its exact identification is not available. One *bhattar* in the temple called it Vyāgraśakti Ganapati, perhaps referring to its three mixed up features. Another *bhattar* thought it was only a *silpi's* fancy.

D. PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

A very significant aspect of the sculptures of the period relates to the portraits of kings and queens, of ministers and generals and of donors and devotees. The Madurai temple is perhaps unique in this respect, though some other temples also possess some groups of sculptures of this description. Even if Tirumala Nayaka had not built any of his *gopuras*, *mandapas* or tanks, he would still be famous as the man who had the genius to put up a group of ten statues

representing his ancestors. These statues of six generations of the Nayaka rulers of Madurai during a period of a little over a century is a singular contribution to Dravidian art. The *Ashtasakti Mandapa* and the Minākshi shrine *prākāras* contain some other important *gopuras* of portrait statues while numerous other similar sculptures are to be seen individually or in small groups in various other places in the temple.

A knowledge of the differences in outlook between Indian and Western artists is necessary to correctly estimate the true nature and value of Indian portraiture. Without such a knowledge one is likely to arrive at mistaken conclusions that our portrait sculptors produced only conventionalised effigies and not anything like portraits in the real sense. One may be quite sure that none of the royal personages represented in the *Pudu Mandapa* or elsewhere ever sat for their *stapatis*. It was the *stapati* who caught glimpses of his patrons, carried the image in his memory, and having sufficiently contemplated on the image, transferred it to stone or wall. Sometimes he produced a few preliminary trials for approval and when these were approved or passed by the patron, the final work was carried out from the approved sketch. That this has been the practice till very recent times may be seen from the scores of these preliminary sketches still existing in private collections and in the families of artists. It will thus be seen that every care was taken by the artist in the production of a likeness and that merely because he did not work from life one cannot say his portraiture was merely conventional.

Another criticism usually levelled against the Madurai sculptures and similar other works is that since the portraits represent many generations of kings the artist who did them must have drawn freely on his imagination. But it must be remembered that as the art is carried on for generations in the same family, there usually exist in the family collections of sketches and pricked tracings of works by the earlier masters. These are handed down as heirlooms from generation to generation and a grandson could easily produce with the help of these pricked tracings a portrait or other work of art just in the same manner as his grandfather did. Even today such tracings of the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore could be seen in the family collection of the artists. One could now easily guess how portraits of the earlier Nayaka rulers could have been done from similar tracings or sketches

left as a legacy in the families of the artists. As the statues of the Nayaka rulers were done almost within living memory, one may be sure that they are really original pieces of art and not mere stereotyped copies and therefore may be taken to be characteristic portraits in every sense of the word. The treatment of some of the features like the eye-brows, the eyes, the nostrils and cheeks may appear to be conventional, but how far they were conventional and how far true to type could not now be accurately stated. If, however, portraits of the same person are compared it would be seen that convention is only subsidiary to characterisation and the features are individualised. The statues of the Nayaka rulers are life-size and the height of the statues vary from about 7½ to 8 heads each, the length of head being measured on the longest line of the face from head to chin. The width across the shoulders measures a little over 2 heads. These proportions also agree with the Western standards for the human figure. The queens measure about 6 heads each.

The mounting of the statues on high pedestals is appropriate, for when the God is borne in procession high over the shoulders of bearers these royaldevotees will be almost on a level and the sight of the God receiving the obeisance of ruler after ruler is a very lasting impression to any one who witnesses it.

Some amount of confusion has been caused by mistaken labelling of a few of the statues. Though this may be important inconsidering the genealogy of the ten rulers, it is really not so essential for asethetic consideration of the statues as portraits.

VISVANATHA NAYAKA: Visvanatha Nayaka's statue is the first one on the left in the central nave as one enters it from the east. His commanding personality is well portrayed. His lips and chin are individualistic and his build, though strong, is not as adipose as that of many of his successors. He wears a Vaishnava mark. His body appears to be bare and he wears a *vastra* with a richly brocaded *upavastra* tied over it and the whole kept in place by a jewelled waist band and belt. The same kind of dress is worn by all the Nayaka rulers. On his head he wears a bejewelled cap. There is a striking similarity in some of the jewels worn by these rulers, and this leads one to think that they are part of the royal regalia usually worn by successive rulers of the line. Some of these jewels found on the

Nayaka statues are a two-string necklace, gemset *kankanas*, a five-row bracelet on the lefthand, a poniard, a high signet ring and an anklet.

Besides such regalia Visvanatha Nayaka has a richly ornamented gemset necklace, shoulder ornaments, and a pair of armlets on each arm. His poniard is thrust in his belt on his right side. Visvanatha Nayaka has a queen on each side, one of whom may probably be Nāgamā, the mother of Krsnappa Nayaka.

KUMARA KRSNAPPA : The second statue is that of Kumāra Krsnappa, the son of Visvanatha. He has a refined face and wears richly ornamented cap, the crest of which leans forward slightly. This style of high cap usually called the Vijayanagara cap seems to have been a common type of head gear of the time, only differing in the richness of material and ornamentation. Two strings usually hang from the lining to the cap and this may be seen near the ears of all the Nayaka rulers who wear this high cap. The nominal suzerainty of the Vijayanagar rulers was acknowledged by some of the earlier Nayaka rulers down perhaps to Lingama. Kumāra Krsnappa wears the same costume and jewellery as the last ruler, but prefers plainer armlets and wears his anklet on the left leg. His poniard is, however, tucked on the right side. He seems to be the only one to have whiskers. Two ladies, obviously his two queens, stand on either side with a lady in waiting close behind. Both the royal ladies have comely features and appear quite youthful.

VIRAPPA NAYAKA : Virappa Nayaka, the son of Krsnappa Nayaka, is probably represented by the third statue on the left[1]. He may be said to be sparsely built compared to other Nayakas. His figure is nearly six feet tall. His eyes, his nose, and his mouth are personal. He wears the *vibhūti* on his forehead and on his body. His high cap is richly ornamented and he wears two necklaces with pendants. One of the pendants is big and looks almost like that worn by the Lingayats. His ear ornament is also different from those of his predecessors and looks more like a pendant of three flower buds as generally seen on "Pāndya" statues. Otherwise his

1. A statue in the north corridor of the Amman Sannidhi second *prakara* and another in front of the Jnanasambandar Temple may also be representations of Virappa Nayaka.

jewellery and costumes are the same as those of the other rulers. His queen stands on his right. On his left side stands an attendant woman. Virappa was a great contributor to the temple complex and was perhaps an ardent devotee as may be seen from the Śaiva attributes favoured by him.

KRSNAPPA NAYAKA : The identity of the fourth statue on the left is not clear. At present the label above the statue reads Krsnappa Nāyaka. But at one time the label appears to have been so damaged as to be illegible[1]. In front of the Jnānasambandar Temple are two portrait statues. The one on the left is perhaps that of Virappa Nayaka and is more than life-size. The statue on the right is much smaller in height. In the *Pudu Mandapa* also the third statue, i. e., the statue of Virappa Nayaka, is nearly 6 ft. tall, while the fourth figure is comparatively very short. Most probably the fourth statue in the *Pudu Mandapa* and the statue on the right in front of the Jnānasambandar Temple represent a younger brother. He is somewhat thick-set and seems to be practical-minded, though devout and his character is well brought out by the simple and plain jewellery he has chosen. He wears the *vibhūti*. His brocade cap is almost plain except for a lace band. His armlets are simple. He wears the hereditary jewels and the poniard. His queen on his right side bears a strong family likeness to the queen on the right of Kumāra Krsnappa. He has another queen on his left.

LINGAMA NAYAKA : This is the name given to Kumāra Krsnappa II in the modern label of the sculpture. Lingama is a tall man of well-proportioned limbs, not corpulent like many of the Nayakas. He has a rather prominent nose and a not too assertive mouth. He strikes one as a born administrator. He wears the *vibhūti* and his necklace has also a large pendant and his ear ornament is also like that of Virappa and has three pendant flower buds. His tall cap is embroidered and in addition to the usual regalia he wears necklaces with pendants and shoulder ornaments. A queen stands on each side of him. The queen on his left is tall.

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1. M.E.R. 1915, pt. II, para 60; Heras : *The Statues of the Nayakas of Madura in the Pudu Mantapam.* A Q. J. M. S. (Vol., XV, p. 209 ff.)

VISVAPPA NAYAKA: The statue opposite to Lingama is that of his brother Visvappa Nayaka. The present label calls him Krsnappa. Visvappa Nayaka is a tall and majestic figure measuring about eight heads in height. His eyes, nose and mouth are quite individualistic, though he has a weak chin. His ears are well formed and his sensitive fingers are each adorned with a ring. He is the first to abandon the Vijayanagara high cap and don a cap or turban which seems to have become the fashion with his successors. He wears a necklet and shoulder ornaments in addition to the usual other jewels common to the Nayaka royal personages. A queen stands on each side of him. He and his successors wear only the Vaishnava mark, and seem to have abandoned the Saiva mark.

KASTURI RANGAPPA: To the left of Visvappa is the statue of his brother Kasturi Rangappa who is a striking personality. His nose is sharp. He has an expressive mouth and keen eyes. The crest of his cap is not tied down and so, as it stands up, it looks almost like a Vijayanagara high cap. He wears necklaces with pendants and two or three other necklaces in addition to the two-string necklace usually worn. He has a tight-fitting garment and his bracelets are well chased and mounted with gems. He has no queen by his side. Kasturi Rangappa has no moustache and is clean shaven.

MUTTU KRSNAPPA: To the left of Kasturi Rangappa is the statue of Muttu Krsnappa, the son of Visvappa, the sixth ruler. Muttu Krsnappa is a tall man and measures eight heads high. His facial features are even more personal and his lips and nose are well-chiselled. One cannot fail to notice the striking resemblance between Muttu Krsnappa and his ancestor, Visvanatha Nayaka, the founder of the line. It is not very clear whether he wears an anklet or not. He has only a cap on his head and has all the usual jewels. Two of his queens are seen on his sides.

MUTTU VIRAPPA: Muttu Virappa looks so different from the other Nāyakas that one must say that his statue possesses a distinct personality of its own. His eyes are prominent with a small nose tucked between them but his lips are beautifully modelled. His full cheeks have a prominent chin and his short neck sits on a

narrow chest. He is flabby and is stout. He strikes one as a man of pleasure and not too intelligent. He wears a cap and on his waist there is only a belt without the usual waist band. He has three queens standing beside him.

TIRUMALA : Tirumala Nāyaka whose statue must have been the most faithful as a portrait has been completely spoilt by senseless coats of paint and ill-drawn features without any consideration for the lines of the original sculpture. What one sees now is only the painter's version and not the sculptor's. If justice has to be done to this beautiful sculpture these daubs of paint should be removed and the statue left in its original state, or if it is to be pointed the work should be done by an artist who understands the sculpture. As it is, if one has to get a more correct impression of how Tirumala may have looked like, one has to compare the *Pudu Mandapa* statue with that in the *Ashtaśakti Mandapa* which fortunately is without any daubs of paint.

Tirumala Nāyaka, though stout like many other Nāyakas, has an individuality of his own different from those of the rest. One could immediately notice that his eyes are set somewhat slanting, that his nose is not sharp like those of his predecessors, and his close-drawn mouth has a small chin below and a wide jaw behind with a rather prominent cheek bone. Tirumala's dress is also different from that of his predessors. His *vastra* seems to be entirely of brocade and one end of it is taken over the body to pass over the left shoulder and is brought forward to hang loose over the right shoulder. His *angavastra* is tied round his waist like a sash. He wears only a waist band without belt. Besides the usual jewels he wears a number of necklaces, prominent among which is a close-fitting necklet and pendant with three drops. This single jewel serves almost like an identification disc for Tirumala's portraits. He wears a cap, and has two queens on each side with attendant ladies behind. The queens are all well-modelled and have characteristic features. The first queen on the right, however, wears a coiffure different from the rest of the royal ladies of the Nāyaka rulers and so is presumed to be a princess from Tanjore whom Tirumala married. The costume and jewellery worn by these ladies illustrate the prevailing fashion of those days.

The *Ashtaśakti Mandapa* which was built about the same period as the *Pudu Mandapa* has four statues of Nāyaka rulers standing in a rather undignified position at the entrances to an odd variety of shops. These statues which are only about half the height of the sculptures in the *Pudu Mandapa* were perhaps done as preliminary models. They are all well executed and display careful technique. Their characterisation is almost realistic. One may even say that on these points they easily score over the bigger and more publicised statues in the *Pudu Mandapa*. Yet their presence in the *Ashtaśakti Mandapa* is hardly noticed by passersby. They are each accompanied by their queens who are, however, hidden for the most part behind the framework of doors put up to enclose the shops. These four statues do not bear any labels, but careful comparison with the statues in the *Pudu Mandapa* would show that they probably represent Tirumala and his brother, Muttu Virappa, on one side and of Muttu Krsnappa, their father, and Krsnappa, their grand father, on the opposite side of the *mandapa*. These statues being without paint help us to study them as the sculptor inished them.

The statues of Tirumala and his brother Muttu Virappa in the Tirumala Nāyaka *Mandapa* which are at Alagarkoil are rather degenerate specimens and only show how soon the art had declined. Another statue of Tirumala inside the temple is also a poor specimen. The work is crudely done and the anatomy is disproportionate. A similar specimen of disproportionate and poor work is also to be seen at Tirupparankunram.

Somewhat better characterisation is seen in three bas reliefs of Tirumala Nāyaka on the pillars in the *Pudu Mandapa*. In two of them the Nāyaka is worshipping Sri Minākshi-Sundaresvara enshrined in the *Ashtagaa Vimānja*. In the third relief Tirumala is worshipping Vighneśvara. The face bears a close likeness to the statues in the *Pudu* and the *Ashtaśakti Mandapas* and is remarkable for its portrait qualities. A stucco group of Tirumala and his queens in the second *prākāra* of the Amman shrine is a very good work of modelling but is unfortunately spoilt by crude painting.

SCULPTURES IN THE AMMAN SHRINE: Facing the stucco of Tirumala and his wives is the south side of the Amman shrine second *prākāra* which contains four other sculptural portraits

In the north corridor are four other similar sculptures and in the east *prākāra* five more figures are to be found. So, these corridors round the Amman shrine contain no less than 14 statues which are obviously portraits besides a few others about which one is not sure of their nature. Another interesting fact is that these corridors were built by about the years 1565 and 1569 A. D. and so are earlier than the *Pudu Mandapa*. The statues in them seem to be earlier work and there is less elaborate carving than in the *Pudu Mandapa* sculptures. Though the lines of dress and form are conventionalised, yet there is subtle and unmistakable characterisation in each of them that they deserve to be classified as portrait sculptures. Of the four statues in the south corridor two figures represent perhaps Settis and two other represent Vijayanagara viceroys. One viceroy and one Setti figure are on the north side of the corridor. Another viceroy and Setti are on the south side of the corridor. The Ṣetti figures wear turbans, tight-fitting garments, *dhoti* with *angavastram* tied on the waist. Though they wear an armlet on the right arm, they have no bangles or bracelets nor do they have anklets on their legs. A study of their face shows that they perhaps belong to the same family. Both of them have thin moustaches. Their nose, mouth and chin are individualistic. They wear *vibhuti* on their forehead. The viceroys wear the Vijayanagara high cap, and diaphanous drapery. Besides rows of necklaces, armlets and bangles they were the same kind of five-row bracelets as seen on the left hand of the Nāyaka rulers in the *Pudu Mandapa*. The viceroys wear anklets on both their legs. They wear Vaishnava marks and their faces show very good characterisation. The Nāyaka and the Ṣetti figures on the north side of the corridor wear, in addition to the ornaments mentioned, a jewelled girdle on their waist and obviously are more important personages than the other two. The south corridor is reputed to have been built by Tittiyappa Ṣetti, the son of Perumāl, in about 1565 A.D.[1] Perhaps the figure on the north side of the corridor is that of Tittiyappa Setti himself.

A similar group of four figures on facing pillars are seen in the north corridor. All of them wear the five-row bracelets and are

1. *Tiruppanimalai* verse 42.

evidently people of high rank, perhaps princes or viceroys. Of the two figures on the south side of the corridor one wears a turban and diaphanous clothing. The figure next to him is the only one of the four to wear the Vaishnava mark and has unmistakable Telugu features. He wears an embroidered and jewelled cap and bears a striking resemblance to Krsna Virāppa Nayaka who is reputed to have built this corridor, probably before he came to the throne. The remaining three figures wear Saiva marks and are perhaps persons of high rank. All the four figures wear ear drops different from those seen on the Nayaka rulers. The two figures on the north side of the corridor wear the Vijayanagara high cap. One of these figures is nearly 6 1/2 feet high and the three others are between 5 1/2 and 6 feet high.

On the eastern side of the *prākāra* are some more figures, of which the one to the left of the *Sannidhi Gopura* is a much bejewelled figure, 6 feet high, on a high pedestal. This statue perhaps represents Śettiyappan who is reported to have built this side of the *prākāra* about the year 1563 A.D.[1] The sculpturing is not so well finished as the other statues found in the *prākāra*, but the portraiture is good work no doubt.

On the Tirumalai Vināyaka shrine are two figures which represent perhaps two donors. Their wives are sculptured in the corresponding positions on the Tirumalai Subrahmanya shrine. The sculpturing of the figures is somewhat crude.

OTHER PORTRAIT FIGURES: Standing on the *Pāndyan Padittuṛai* of the Golden Lily Tank are two remarkably fine statues reported to be of a Pāndya king and a Dananjaya Śetti. These represent perhaps the legendary Pāndya king and merchant who are connected with the founding of the city. Both are very carefully done specimens and the face of Dananjaya Śetti especially is very good as a portrait, though it is a pity one cannot identify the individual. Perhaps Dananjaya Śetti is Perumāl who is said to have built the north side of the Golden Lily Tank in about 1562 A.D.[2] The sculpturing of the two statues is

1. *Tiruppanni yivaram*, No. 16; *Tiruppanimalai*, verse 40.
2. *Tiruppani Vivaram*, No. 13; *Tiruppanimalai*, verse 31.

different from that of many other portrait sculptures found in he temple and are obviously the work of a master hand.

The figure of the Pāndya king wears a high cap but the rest of the figure is similar to another statue reputed to be that of a Pāndya king in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The figure in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* wears a highly ornamented *krita* and the same jewels as the figure on the Golden Lily Tank. Though the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* figure has more conventionalised eyes, nose and mouth, the sculpturing is even more highly finished than that of the Golden Lily Tank. These two figures afford a striking comparison for study of Indian craftsmanship.

Two very good pieces of portraiture are to be found in the Jnānasambandar Temple at the *Kambattadi*. There is less conventionalism in the face and the individualisation on the two figures is quite successful. Perhaps the larger statue represents the builder of this temple, Krishna Virapaa, with whose statue in the *Pudu Mandapa* it has strong resemblances. The similar statue is perhaps that of his younger brother. The drapery and the ornaments are not well rendered. The shrine dates about 1572 A.D. during a period of great building activity which included the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*, some of the shrine corridors, the north *Gopura*, the *Chitra Gopura* and others.

Two statues reputedly of Rāni Mangammāl, one in the *Nagarā Mandapa* and another in the *Āsthāna Mandapa* at Tirupparankunram, afford interesting study. Both compare very well in their characterisation of the Rāni, though the diminutive figure of her grandson Vijayaranga Chokkarātha is not handled in the same manner. The Rani's immense coiffure and her poise is the same in the two statues.

The Indian sculptor seems to be more successful in the portraiture of private individuals probably because he has more opportunities for closer study of the subject. Sculptures of this class which are scattered in the various *mandapas* are all very good specimens of portrait work possessing a high degree of characterisation without much conventionalism. First among these one has to notice an equestrian statue in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* reputed to be that of Aryanātha Mudali, the great Nāyaka general and

minister. Aryanātha Mudali is credited with having built the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa.* As there is no other portrait in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* one may take it that this statue represents Aryanātha Mudali himself. He is mounted on a richly caparisoned charger and his bearing is that of a dauntless man. He is dressed in the Mughal style which had by this time greatly influenced Hindu apparel. His well-defined nose sits over a mouth which is slightly opened as though to give a command. He has a neatly trimmed and groomed head and his torso is that of a man of fine physique. Another equestrian figure in the *Pudu Mandapa* bears some resemblance to Aryanāthah, but is not as carefully executed as the one in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa.* The horse is fully prancing and the supporting human figures under it which had perhaps by that time come into fashion for equestrian statuary lend a rather unreal look to what is intended to be a portrait sculpture.

One of the most striking pieces of portraiture is that of Nāranappayyar which is tucked away in the Mangammal *Mandapa* in the Golden Lily Tank. The statue is slender, its lines rhythmic and flowing and the shapes most beautifully conceived. It is a real masterpiece. It reveals a fine plastic sense and feeling for form. The sculptor has succeeded in portraying with the utmost economy of line a leading personality of the period. Nāranapayyar is dressed as befits his office. He has a turban on his head and has a Mughal style of dress over which he has tied his *dhoti.* His *angavastra* neatly folded is tied round his waist and its ends hang in front in trim style. Nāranappayyar has a necklet with a pendant, a two-row necklaces and a *yajnopavita* of four strings, perhaps of pearls with gemset tiel spaced at regular intervals. He wears bracelets on his two hands and rings on his fingers. His earrings are *kundalas.* His legs and feet are bare. He looks most dignified. His face which is adorned with *vibhuti* shows him as a handsome and intelligent person. His nose, lips, cleft chin and his shapely cheeks show great characterisation by the sculptor.

The statues of Mutturama Aiyar and his wife in the *mandapa* named after him and of Subbarayar with his two wives in the *mandapa,* also named after him, are two other wonderfus portraits in the temple. The characterisation of the two gentlemen

is very well done and is almost realistic. Mutturama Aiyar wears a *pancakaccam* and his bare body is adorned with rows of necklaces and the usual *yajnopavita*. He has a bracelet on each arm. His *śikha* is tied in the orthodox manner on a shaven head. Mutturama Aiyar seems to be a pious and genial old gentleman and the statue perhaps had done him full justice. Subbarayar appears to have been a man of some rank. He wears earrings, necklaces and bracelets and a jewelled waist band which hangs over his brocade *dhoti*. His *yajnopavita* hangs in the usual manner. His sculptured features are highly individual. His nose, mouth and chin especially are drawn perhaps with great truth.

Gurusāmi Śetti in *Velliyambala Mandapa* stands with his wife on his side. Another identical figure with a woman is sculptured on the adjacent pillar. Though these statues are not of the same class as the statues in the Minākshi Temple, yet as portraits they rank quite high. One has only to compare all these statues to see how much really they are portraits and not merely conventional figures.

The statue of Muttambala Mudali in the *Vasanta Mandapa* at Tirupparankunram and of the two soldiers near the *palliyarai* at Alagarkoyil are other works in the portrait class. The statue of Muttambala Mudali like that of Nāranappayyar is a very dignified piece and shows the same sense of form and economy of line. His face is strongly individualistic and the whole work is admirably done. The figures of the soldiers at Alagarkoyil are useful as a study of two rather unusual subjects though conventionalism is largely employed. The features of the face belong to portraiture really. These statues may be compared with that of Gurusāmi Setti.

Two unidentified Nāyaka figures, also in the *Kalyana Mandapa* at Alagarkoyil, are perhaps those of Vijayanagara viceroys. If they are of the Nāyaka rulers they could not be identified with any of the portraits of the ten Nāyaka kings in the *Pudu Mandapa*. These statues are tall and thin and the statues reveal them to be the work of a different master. In the Kūdal Alagar Temple in Madurai are four more portrait statues, all of them stated to be Nāyakas, but who could not in any manner be identified with any of those in the *Pudu Mandapa*. These are perhaps viceroys or local chieftains. The workmanship is rather poor.

19

The decadence of portraiture could be well seen in later works appearing in the Madurai Temple and elsewhere. In the *Kalyāna Mandapa* is a short, squat and flabby figure with a wife and an attendant on either side which is pointed out as that of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha. Whether the statue is of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha or anyone else, the whole work is very decadent, disproportionate and inartistic and certainly bears no comparison with the beautiful work seen in the *Pudu Mandapa*.

Another statue in the *Mudali Mandapa* is not identified. Though decadent work it may perhaps be that of Kālatti Mudali, son of Aryanatha Mudali and the builder of this *mandapa*. More decadent specimens of portraiture are seen in the statues of Periya Marudu and Chinna Marudu in the Tirumohur Temple. More conventionalism and less characterisation mark these statues.

In the same class, though not so decadent, are two other statues in Tirupparankunram. The figures are not identifiable and one does not know whom they represent. However, they strike one as the work of a lesser hand.

E. TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION

1. History of Administration

The administration of the Maduari temple was founded on a well-organised basis. Rules and orders were framed with attention to minute details. While the king was the final authority and his orders were taken on all important occasions, the day-to-day administration was left in the hands of the *sthānikas* who were seven in number. The rights and responsibilities of each of these *sthānikas* were well defined and each had administrative authority over groups of servants who were placed under their control. All the facts relating to the temple, its repairs, its endowments, its servants, and its festivals were entered in a temple code known as the *Sritāla*. The administration was carried on in the manner described in this *aide memoire* and whenever differences or doubts arose about any question the book was consulted and its regulations followed.

THE SEVEN DEVASTHANAMS: The main *devasthān ɛm* in and around Madurai were seven in number[1]. The names of these institutions are the Minākshi-Sundaresvara temple at Madurai, the Sundararājasvāmi temple at Madurai and Kallalagar, the Subrahmanyasvāmi temple at Tirupparankunram, the Tirumulanātha-svāmi temple at Tenkarai, Edakanāthasvāmi temple at Tiruvedakam and the Chitravallabhasvāmi temple of Kuruvitturai. There were about 16 other minor *devasthānams* of which the following may be mentioned: Kulasekarasvāmi temple at Tiruvappudaiyar, Tirumulanāthasvāmi temple at Madurai, Chokkanātha at Tirumangalam, Chennakesava Perumāl at Mullankinaru, Airāvathesvarar at Āraiyur, Venkatāchalapathisvāmi at Sindupatti, Kailāsanāthasvāmi and Gopālasvāmi at Tidiyan, Subrahmanyasvāmi at Puttur, Karaimel-alagarsvāmi at Allikundam, Kālameghasvāmi at Tirumbur (Tirumohur), Tirumarainādasvāmi at Tiruvādavur, Kailāsanāthasvāmi at Koyilpatti, Agastisvarasvāmi at Tiruchani (Tiruccunai?), Tirukoṭināthasvāmi temple at Tirupakudi, Mangaipāgesvarasvāmi at Perāmalai (Pirānmalai).

THE KATTALAIS: The main sources of revenue for temple administration were the income from lands owned by the temples or endowed by royal and private donors and the offerings in cash or kind made by the public. The villages endowed were of three kinds, namely, *Nirvāka* or *Sibbandiporuppu* villages granted to certain temple servants who in return had to perform certain temple duties. Other lands called *Archanabagha* villages owned by the temple were set apart to meet the expenses of the *pujas*. A third class of grants comprise *Arakattalai* villages given by donors for specific purposes. These *Arakattalais* are fixed *mānyam* rent-free lands granted for the purpose of daily offerings and prayers to the deity for the departed donor or rather the continuance of the same mode of worship which the donor observed in his lifetime as the prayer is always as if from the donor himself.

Arakattalai seems to have been of two kinds: (I) Lands granted and added to temple property to pay for the performances of certain religious acts for the benefit of the soul of the departed grantor,

1. Much of the information is obtained from two original sources, the *Sritala* and the Manuscript records in the Madras Record Office.

(2) *Arakattalali* villages which were granted rent-free to individuals in order that they might transfer them to the temples and thus obtain credit for a religious act. Many of these lands had been misappropriated by the servants or managers of the *kattalai* lands or by the grantees of the *kattalai* villages. Among the *Arakattalais* established for the Minākshi temple prior to the time of Yusuf Khan were those of the following: Tirumala Nāyaka; Muttamma, mother of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha; Venkatakrishnama Nayaka, a commandant of the Tiruchi raja (i.e., the Nayaka of Madurai); Maduranāyakam Pillai, a house steward of Tirumala Nāyaka; Mannarappaiyan, the vakil of the Tiruchi rāja; Minākshi Nāyaka, betel bearer to Vijaya Chokkanātha; Alagappa Mudali; Pancāngam Gopala Krishnayyar. Kotisvara Aiyar; Jnanasambanda Pandaram; Muttambala Mudali (Amil of the Tiruchi raja); Dānappa Mudali, a *pradhān* of the Tiruchi raja; Ariyanayakam Pillai, *pradhan* of Visvanatha Nayaka, the Raja of Tiruchi; Chinnatambi Mudali, the *senāpathi* of the Raja; Vadamalai Pillai, a *pradhān* of Tirumala Nāyaka, and Dāsi Muttirulayi (who endowed the villages granted to her by Vijayaranga Chokkanātha for her exquisite dance). With the exception of the royal *kattalais* the other villages were presented or obtained by the individuals from the king for purposes of their endowments. There have been instances where the grantee retained the lands himself without presenting them to the temple.

The number of these villages is classified as follows : *Archanābāga* and *alankāra gramas* 13 villages; *Tiruvilaiyādal grāmas* 43; *arakattalai* villages 66; Tirumala Nāyaka's *arakattalai* 25 ; *sthalattār nirvāka* villages 26 ; minor shrines 12; *Tiruppani* villages 1. As regards the seven *devasthanams* it is not clear who were the original donors of the lands. Many of them were usurped during the troublous times following the disruption of the Nayaka Kingdom. Chanda Saheb seized what remained of the *devasthanam* lands. Part of these lands were restored to the temple after the capture of Chanda Saheb, but much of the property was again lost. When Yusuf Khan came to Madurai he retained all the temple lands but made a grant of 12,000 *cakrams* to the seven temples. This amount was reduced to half in the following years. In a cowle written soon after the execution of Yusuf Khan, the Nawab Wallajah directed only the enjoyment of Tirumala Nayaka's *arakattalai* and the other grants

were not even mentioned indirectly. When the British took over the administration in 1801 A.D. they ordered the Collector (Hurdis) "to restore to these temples the lands resumed from the pagodas by the late government, but for some reason not traceable. Mr. Hurdis never carried out these instructions and (though the question of its disposal was raised in 1849 and again in 1859) the Hafta *Devasthanam* land remains in the hands of the Government".

The following statement[1] of the amount fixed in Fusly 1214 (1803 A.D. soon after the British took control) for Tirumala Nāyaka's *kattalai* is of some interest as showing the details of the grant and the rate of payments for services. The currency in use at the time were *fanams* and *calli cukrams*. The relative value in present day currency would be about Rs. 2.12 per *chukram*

Āvani Mūlam festival c	100	-	-
To *Teppam* festival in *Tai* c	150	-	-
To adorn the *Maiya Mandapam* c	50	-	-
To *Chitrai* festival c	200	-	-
Pay for 10 *Vedapārāyana Brahmans* at 4 c per month	240	-	-
Pay for two *Nādasvaram* servants at 4 c per month	48	-	-
Pay for one accompanist at 15 fs per month	18	-	-
One *dole* at 18 fs per month	21	-	6
One large *dole* at 15 fs per month	18	-	-
One *Kaitiala* at 15 fs per month	18	-	-
One *Damāram* at 20 fs per month	24	-	-
One *Chank* blower at 20 fs per month	24	-	-
One double *damāram* at 5 c per month	60	-	-
Hire for umbrella or *surutti* bearers	15	-	-
Elephant feed at 10 c per month	120	-	-

1. W. Francis, *Madura District Gazetteer*, p. 199.

2 : Temple Servants

There are stray references to the temple authorities and servants of the Mīnākshi temple, in inscriptions of the mediaeval period[1]. Apart from this there is not much information about the internal organisation and administration of the temple during the early and mediaeval periods. Probably the general system of temple organisation and administration had become systematised and the same system was followed as in other areas.

From literary and epigraphic evidences a fairly complete picture may be got of the internal organisation of the Mīnākshi temple during the period of the Nāyaka rulers. The *Madurai Sthānikar Varalāru*[2] gives an account of the *sthānikas* who were in charge of the temple management. These facts are supported and corroborated by other literary and administration accounts. It says that prior to the formation of the Madurai Sultanate the management of the Mīnākshi temple was vested in six persons called Sundara Pāndya Brahmādirāyar, Manunidi Kanda Brahmādirayar, Getti Mudaliyar, Arundaman Viluppādarāyan, Munivariyāda Perumāl and Ulagudaiya Perumāl[3].

The temple employed a large staff of servants ranging from menials to people well versed in the *Sāstras* and the arts. They were under the general supervision of seven *sthānikas* who were each put in authority over specified groups of servants and made responsible for the efficient carrying out of their respective duties by each individual. The seven *sthānikas* (about 1624 A.D.) were the two *battars*, Vikrama Pandya Battar, Kulasekhara Battar, Tatpurushadeva Mudali, Periyadeva Mudali, Kanakku Viluppādarāyan, Pāndya Nāttu Mudali and Rajakera Muddirai Kesava Dikshitar. These seven *sthānikas* were in charge of the seals of the treasury. Apart from the two *battars*, the insignia of the other *sthānikas* were the *makara mudra* (fish seal), *makara kodi* (fish ensign), *pon eluttāni* (gold

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1. *Vide* Chapter VI, Section D.

2. Published in *Sentamil*, Vol. V.

3. The total number of *sthānikas* seems to have been increased from six to seven at a later date by the inclusion of two descendants of Getti Mudali—*Sritala*.

scribe), *vrishabha mudra* (bull seal) and *nāga mudra* (serpent seal). The treasury could be opened or closed only in the presence of all these *sthānikas* and when the chief treasury *Sri* (*Bandāram Karukūlam*) is opened the two *battars* should enter it wearing only a *kaupina* (loin cloth) and bring out the necessary sealed chests in the presence of the other *sthānikas*. They should return the chests sealed in a like manner into the *karukulam*. One *battar* had charge of nearly 20 servants who included the two *nambis* for performing the *pujas* at the two *mulasthānams*. The other *battar* supervised 18 servants including a servant for cleaning the bronze and stone images. *Getti Mudali* had 13 servants who included the man in charge of the provision and condiment stores (*venjana arai*) and a sweep for the kitchen. *Kanakku Viluppādarāyan* had a staff of accountants for the *karukulam*, the surrounding cloisters, the stores for *vāhanas*, umbrellas, palanquins and torches and cowsheds. He had also under him the accountant in charge of the cash accounts for the palace *kattalais* and also the man who reads the daily accounts at the *kedaga pallakku*. *Pānlya nāttu mudaliyār's* staff included an accountant for maintaining credit accounts of palace *kattalais* and also an accountant each for the *Paradesi* and the *vrishabha muddirai* administrations. The *rājakara muddirai* was in charge of the palace *kattalai* and the *puja* priests for the palace.

Among the Brahman servants were astrologers and heralds. The Sudra servants comprised a large number of watchmen and lamp lighters.

The shrines were divided into two groups and were put in charge of each of the two *battars* who had to do the *pujas* and other duties alternately for the two halves of a month. There were a number of *paricharakas* who had various duties to perform such as keeping watch of the *ardhamandapa* and perfomring *abhisheka* at a number of subsidiary shrines. The shift *paricharaka* had charge of the *dhvajasthambha* and attended to the daily duties connected therewith.

There were two *oduvars* who sang *Devāram*, *Tiruvacakam*, *Tiruppallāndu* and *Tiruvisaippā* during the daily *pujas*. They had to do similar duties for the Sribalināyakkar, Pallakku Chokkar and during temple processions and *mandagappadis*. They had to read the *purāna* at the *Kaluvettam* festival and the *Sundarar Purana* on the eighth day festival.

The *Kanakku Viluppādarāyan* had to watch all temple activities and maintain full accounts. He had to read out the daily accounts to the Pallakku Chokkar at the *Kambattadi* in His daily processions.

The *Gadiyāram Muhurttāvadāni* (astrologer) should read out the *pancāngam* (calendar) during the *vila* (morning) *puja*. He should chant the *rudrajapa* during *abhishekas* and read out the time when the Pallakku Chokkar reaches the *Kambattadi*. He should fix the auspicious time for festivals and *dhvajārohana*. He was in charge of the time gong on the *Chitra Gopura* and had to see that correct time was struck.

The *Āgamācārya* should, in company with the *nambiyārs*, see that the daily *pujas* and festivals and *samprokshanas* were done according to the *āgama sāstras*. The *nambiyārs* should not perform *pujas* without the permission of the *Deiva purohits*.

The *svayampākis* brought the *tirumanjanam* from the river and served the waters for *abhisheka*, washed the clothes for the Gods and served *hastodagam* during *dipa ārādana*. They wafted the *chāmaras* and bore the *kedaka pallakku* of Śribali Nāyakar round the *prākāras*. They had to cook the food properly and tastefully and see that the rice was free of grit. They served as betel bearers, and spread the processional cloths from the *Kambattadi* on. They had also to take the *prasāda* to the palace and grind the sandal paste for the worship of the idols.

The *adikāra pārapadyam's* main duty seems to have been the distribution of cooked rice among the temple servants. The temple watchmen who were mostly Vairāviyans were expected to defend the temple properties even at the risk of their lives in times of danger.

The king seems to have decided the routes by which the temple processions should be taken and the *sripādamtāngis* (bearers) were expected to carry the Gods through those streets only.

There were two sets of *melakkāras*, one belonging to the temple and the other maintained by the palace. During festivals both *melakkāras* served together.

The *Nattuvan* with his accompanists and *Dāsis* should be in attendance during the daily *pujas, nityotsavas* and festivals. They should perform outside the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. They should not enter the *mandaapa*. The *Rudrakanikai* on the other hand should perform *natanas* during all the *pujas* daily. She should perform the *Suddha Nrtta* and *ekānta kelikkai* from the *ārukāl pitha*. She should also attend to the *niranjana dipa*. She should clean the vessels for the *nityotsava* and distribute the *bali* at the eight cardinal points during *utsavas*. During the *Ārudrā* festival she should dance the *parandu*. The Tamil wording is "*Parandu ādukiradu*". The meaning is not very clear. Possibly the term may have some connection with the description of the God as "*Adiravīśi ādinār*". She should also perform the *Bhairava nātaka*. She should offer *pushpānjali* and recite slokas when the God arrives at the *yāgasāla*. The drummer and the *Rudrakanikai* after performing *rakshābhandanam* should serve at the *yāgasala* on the occasion of festivals. She should perform *Suddha Nrtta* to Sribali Nāyagar at the eight cardinal points. The cymbalist (*occan*) should keep time and should not miss a beat.

The Sirpācāri should see that *mandapas, vimānas*, and *puja* vessels and the *ashtabandhanam* (for *mūlavas*) and *cedibandhanam* (for processional images) and similar works were carried out strictly as they are described in the *Silpa Sāstras*. Without him these works should not be done. He has to undergo *Siva Dikshai*.

The *muddiraikannis*, i.e., the sealers of the treasury chests, were under the *Nirvāham* or *Kaiyātci* who kept a strict surveillance over the treasury. The *Meykaval* were special watchers for guarding the jewels. The head *karnam* and his assistants, the *Maniyams* kept the accounts of the various *kattalais* and the day-to-day transacstions. A *karnam* who was in charge of the *Pangunimāsa Kattalai* met and collected pilgrims from distant country and attended to them.

The temple staff mentioned above seemed to have been continued in the same manner up to the time when the British took over the administration. A statement of servants made in 1981 mentions a number of minor services. These included the temple

potter (*kosavan*), elephant keepers, tailor, "adorner of car," *vairāvis*, "sacrificer of life at any accident to pagoda" and lamp lighters for "cleaning and lighting lamps, carrying torches on festival days and washing and sweeping pagodas." As the whole temple was lit with oil lamps, the maintenance of these lamps and the oil needed for them was an expensive item in the temple budget and the statement gives an accurate account of all the lamps used in the temple and the amount of oil consumed by them with the daily, monthly, and annual cost. Among other servants mentioned were *pujāris* who offered *puja* at the "petty pagodas attached to the Mīnākshi pagoda within the town of Madurai," painters "employed in pagoda business", bazaar man, supplier of timber (firewood?) and another who supplied *punugu* or civet, a dyer "employed in pagoda business", supplier of flowers who supplied flower for each *kattalai*, Hanumār *pujāri* whose name, Kesavadās Bhāva, suggests that he was a northerner, *uliyars* or peons and ironsmiths.

Most of the temple servants seem to have held their offices on a hereditary basis. The entries in *Sritāla* and the manuscript records mention a number of instances where sons have succeeded their fathers in the temple service. The word *Kāniyātci* with reference to their service signifies that it was a hereditary holding. There is an instance where the *Kulaguru* who had no male issue to succeed him made a *dhānaśāsana* of his *Kāniyātci* to another *battar* with the consent of the committee and the king. There is another instance where a *battar* gave part of his *puja* service as *sridana*. On another occasion a *battar* who was indebted to a colleague mortgaged one of his *puja* services to him. There have been instances where *battars* have been suspended or removed from service as a result of charges made against them. One of the *battars* was charged with the removal of important *āgama* and *Silpa Sāstra* works and other religious literature on palm leaf which were deposited behind the Sarada *pitha*. The same *battar* was also charged with communicating with the enemy and is stated to have escaped when summoned by the king.

The duties of these servants were defined very clearly so that there could be no excuse for their neglect or quarrel arising from any misunderstanding. Yet quarrels were frequent and it cannot be denied that temple services suffered sometimes as a result of these differences.

The rules regarding the qualifications for those who performed the *pujas* were very strict. The priests were required to have studied the Vedas, *Āgama Sastras* and *nitya pujā vidis* under a *guru* and become proficient by examination. They should be above 40 years and should perform *pujas* only after *ācārya abhishekam* (initiation) in the *ārukāl pitha* of the Amman shrine. A bachelor or widower and people who were lame or short of limbs or who otherwise suffered from any disease should not perform the *pujas*. The *parichārakas* should have undergone *diksha* and the *swayampākis* must have had *samaya diksha*. The *āchārya abhisheka* seems to have been one of the main conditions for appointment as the first *nirvāha* or *sthānika* which office seems to have been held by the two *battars* in rotation for a term. The *battar* who had to perform the *abhisheka* for his term had to pay certain fees which were perhaps of the nature of licence fees. Very often in later years there were frequent quarrels between the two *battars* over this *abhisheka* and Tirumala Nayaka appears to have cut the Gordion knot by requiring the two *battars* to pay the fees and both to undergo *abhishekas*. The *battars* should do the *puja* only on behalf of the king and the *dalavāy*. *Pujas* for other people should be done only with the permission of the palace. The offerings made by the king and *dalavāy* should be remitted to the temple treasury after deducting one-fifth of it as fees for the *nambiyar* and *paricārakas*. Offerings collected in *undials* and in festivals should be remitted to the palace but offerings in kind should be entered in the accounts and remitted to the temple treasury.

The *paradeśi muddirai* seems to have been an old institution dating back to Paṇḍya days, when they acted as the *guru pitha* of the *rajas*. They had *diksha* and performed *pattābhisheka*, were brahmachāris and resided in the *matha*. They had the *Vrishabha Mudrai* and were one of the *sthānikas* of the temple committee.

This account of the temple servants would show that they were a well-organised body devoted to the safeguarding of the idols and temple property and zealous in carrying out the daily *pujas* and other festivals according to the *āgamas* and *śāstras*. Personal prejudices and influences were prevented by vesting in a body of seven respectable *sthānikas* the conduct of the material affairs of the temple. The spiritual and *āgamic* requirements for the worship of the deities and for the numerous festivals were adequately looked after by the *battars*

assisted by the *Muhurttāvadani*, the *Āgamācārya* and the *Śilpācāri* Music and dancing were two of the essential requirements in temple services. *Vedapārāyana* Brahmans and *Oduvārs* provided the sacred hymns while *Melakkāras* and *Devadāsis* performed the music and the dances. The *devadāsis* belonged to distinct classes like *Dāsis*, *Nātakasālai* women and *Rudrakannis*. The *Rudrakannis* enjoyed higher privileges and actually helped in the *yāgasala* and also took part in certain festivals.

The king was closely concerned with the affairs of the temple and in the conduct of its business. He granted lands not only for his own *kattalais* but also for the expenses of the administration, *pujas* and festivals and the payment of the servants. He presented to the temple many jewels and *vāhanas* and constructed or renovated many structures in the temple. He also instituted festivals and ordered the routes through which temple processions should be taken. He appointed his own *kulaguru* and *Rājakara Muddirai* to look after his temple *kattalais* and supervise the temple worship generally. The *Rajakara Muddirai* was a member of the committee of *sthānkas*. The king took part in many templefestivals as for instance at the annual coronation ceremonies of Minākshi and Sundaresvara and alsoin some of the festivals enacting the *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends. The *Sritāla* gives a number of occasions when the ruler settled disputes between the *battars* or other temple servants.

3. PUJAS

The temple *pujas* fall under three categories, namely, *nitya pujas* which are done daily, *māsa visesha* which are performed once a month andthirdly, *āndu visesha* or festivals which are celebrated oncea year. The expenses for these were borne by the temple itself from the income of lands owned by it or from the many endowments and grants made to it by the rulers or the public.

Daily *pujas* are offered according to the *āgamic sastras* and are practically the same as they are in many Śaiva temples. The ritual today is practically what it has been for hundreds of years past

Seven main shrines where daily *pujas* were offered are mentioned in the *Śritāla* and in the early records of British administration. These shrines refer to Sundaresvara and Minākshi shrines, Siddhi Vināyaka,

Dakhsināmurti, Sattaiyappar, Bhairava and Surya-Chandra. A number of minor shrines are mentioned in addition to the minor *Devasthānams* referred to earlier p. 291. Among these are the Hanumār temple near the Main Guard, Vyāsarāya Hanumār, Narasimhasvāmi, Sellattamman, Kāśi Viśvanātha, Sanjivarāyar, Pāndyara Vināyaka, Arasadi Vināyaka, Elukadal Vināyaka, Hanumār temple at the North Gate, Virabhadrasvāmi and Padinettāmpadi Karuppan.

The *pujas* seem to have been performed six times in the day starting from the *vilā puja* in the early morning to the *Mūkkuti Kalittal* at night. The *nitya puja* at the two main shrines comprised the *abhisheka*, *dipa-ārādhana* and *naivedya*. The *abhisheka dravyam* or articles for *abhisheka* included honey, tender coconuts, two sorts of sandal, plantain fruits, *pacca karpur*, civet, sugar, curds, *parimala dravyam* or scents, benzoin, and *vibhuti*. The following were used for preparing the *naivedyas*: black gram and green gram, jaggery, tamarind, salt, pepper, cummin, mustard and dil seeds, dry ginger, cardamom and rice. The following among other varieties were prepared for the *naivedya*: *Dosai* and *idli*, *paniyāram*, *adirasam*, *tenkulal*, *puliyodarai*, *śāmbār sādam*, and *dadhyonnam*. The *naivedya* was distributed according to custom among the *sibbandis* or employees.

During the day the Nityotsavar, Pallakku Sokkar, was taken in procession three times a day round the *prākāras* of the temple with music and all honours. These *pujas* and customs are still observed at the present day.

The monthly festivals referred to certain fixed festivals which occurred once every month. For instance, the *māsa sankrānti*, i.e., the first day of the Hindu month, the *Kārtigai nakshatra*, being 13, days in the year, the monthly *pradosha*, being 24 days in the year, *Sukravāra*, being 52 days in the year, and Full Moon days. The monthly festivals also seem to be conducted more or less in the same manner today.

An important part of temple ritual is the *ashtabhandana* or the fixing of idols which has to be done strictly according to the *āgamic śāstras*. The *ashtabhandana* refers to the fixing of *mulava bheras* or stone images on their pedestals. The *chedibhandana* refers to the fixing of the processional or bronze images on their pedestals. The *Śritāla* says that the temple authorities should draw up an account for gathering the necessary materials for these ceremonies

according to the *uttama*, *madhyama*, *adhama* and *adhamādhama* classes mentioned in the *sastras* and for performing the *abhishekas*, *japa-tapas* and for paying the customary fees to the *nambiyar* and *śilpāchāri*. This account should be submitted to the king and after obtaining his consent, they should perform the necessary rituals in the *āgamic* manner.

4. ANNUAL FESTIVALS

Many festivals of the Madurai temple have an ancient tradition behind them. For instance, the *Tiruvādirai* festival during the month of *Mārgali* which is one of the chief festivals at the present day, is referred to in the *Paripādal*.[1] Mediaeval Pāṇḍya epigraphs from the Madurai temple mention the *Āvaṇittirumāl* and the *Tiruppūrattiru-nombu* festival in the month of *Aippasi*[2].

According to the *Śritāla* the *Māsi* (February-March) festival and *mandalotsava* seem to have been celebrated from time immemorial. The big car festival also was held similarly from ancient times. The *Navarātri* festival and the Amman *Kolu* or *Darbār* are observed from Purānic times. During Krsnadeva Raya's time the *Ādi* festival for Amman was inaugurated. During the time of Tirumala Nayaka under the administration of Ayyā Dikshita, grandson of Appayya Dikshita, the *Tiruvilaiyadal* festivals were instituted as also the *Āvani Mula*[3], *Citra* and *Vaikāśi Vasanta* festivals held in the *Pudu Mandapa*. Tirumala Nāyaka also dug the Vandiyur Teppakkulam and originated the big floating festival. During the time of Mangammāl the *Ūnjal* festival in *Āni* and the *Kārttigai* festival were founded. The *Kodai* or summer festival in *Panguni* is celebrated in the Velliyambalam. So from Tirumala's time festivals are celebrated all the twelve months of the year[4]. This was continued by the Carnataka or Muslim rulers.

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1. *Paripaadal*, ii. 74-79.

2. M.E.R. 278 and 281 of 1942.

3. Since the *Āvani* festival is mentioned in mediaeval epigraphs, Tirumala might have revived an old festival or instituted the old festival on a grander scale.

4. The Sangam works state that Madurai was noted for the unceasing celebration of festivals. But there is at present no definite information about the festivals celebrated in the Madurai temple during the Sangam age.

The annual festivals seem to have continued to be observed in the same manner during the years following the Nayaka rulers. An early British record for Fusli 1212 (1802 A.D., besides giving the names of the festivals gives in detail their expenses also. The annual festivals mentioned below are from this record.

The *Citra* festival during April-May opens with the reading of the new year's almanac when a pair of *dhotis* costing about Rs. 3 was presented to the *Jotishar*. The main festival was the *Tirukkalyāna* celebrated for ten days and concluding with the big car festival. On the sixth day of this festival is celebrated the victory of Sambandar over the Jains. On the seventh day Kankālanāthar alone goes in procession through the streets On the eighth day is celebrated the *Pattābhishekam* of Minākshi Amman.

MINAKSHI'S PATTABHISHEKAM: It seems to have been the custom for the rulers of the land to participate in the ceremony The *Sritala* manuscripts trace the history and give a lengthy description of the ceremony during Tirumala Nāyaka's time. They give a picture of royal pomp and pageantry and incidentally reveal a facet of temple administration.

Till the year S. 1544 (1622 A.D) it was the custom for the kings to place the sceptre before their family deity and take it from there but during Tirumala Nāyaka's days when many new festivals were introduced and celebrated on a large scale a change was made in the celebration of the *Pattābhishekam* festival. On that day the *sthānika* and *battars* went to the palace and intimated the king who thereupon had his ceremonial bath and after fasting for the day, used to go to the temple in the evening when the God and Goddess would be seated on a throne in the *ārukāl pītha* of the Amman shrine.

At the temple the day would start with the *tirumanjana* or the *abhisheka* which would be taken in a procession with many torches and dancing girls singing and dancing and with the music of pipe and drums. The *nambi*, the officiating priest, would perform the *puja* according to the *āgamas*. The seven *sthānikas* would open the sealed chest in the *karuvulam* and take out the coronation crown, the sceptre and the five seals of office which they would place on a special plate and go in procession to the Amman Sannidhi where after the *nambi* had

finished the *puja* the two *battars* would each place the crown and the sceptre on the Goddess. After the *naivedana* the *kattiyams* (heralds) would go to the palace and inform the king. The king would thereupon mount the State elephant and seat himself on a jewelled throne under a golden canopy (howdah) carried by the richly caparisoned elephant. He would go in procession to the temple accompanied by the 72 poligars and their huge fully armed retinue to the music of 18 different instruments. Brilliant torch lights and fire works would illuminate the processions. Many dancing girls would provide dance performances on the way. The splendour of the procession, says the book, cannot be adquately described. Arriving at the temple, Tirumala Nāyaka would proceed with all his retinue to the Amman Sannidhi *ārukāl pitha*. Immediately *dipārādana* with all honours would be performed before the Goddess and after the king had his *darsan* the two *battars* would offer him *vibhuti prasādas* and also the *nilaimālai* or the big garland and the twin garlands with which the Goddess was decked. Thereafter they would place *sādna* and the ceremonial head dress (*parivatta*) on the king's head after which they would give him the sceptre. Following this, the *sthānikas* would be offered *vibhutti prasāda* and *candana* and given the respective seals of their office. The seals of office were *Makara Muddirai*, *Makara Kodi*, *Ponnelutiāni*, *Vrishabha muddirai* and *Naga muddirai*. After distribution of the seals they would proceed with the king to the *Sannidhi Gopura* where the king would mount his elephant again. The *sthānikas* and the *battars* would get into palanquins and the rest would be mounted on horses and go in State procession round the town. After going round the town the king would arrive in procession before the *Āsthāna Mandapa* in the palace. A throne would be placed in this fully decorated *Āsthāna Mandapa*. The sceptre would now be placed on the throne, the king remaining beside it with the *sthānikas*. *Naivedya* and *dipārādana* would be offered to the sceptre. The *Pradhāni*, *Dalavāy* and the poligars and other chiefs would offer their tribute to the king after which the king would present *sādiras* and bracelets to the two *battars* and shawls and ear-rings or necklets to the five *nirvāhis*. Customary presents would then be made to other people at the *Durbār*. The king would then permit the *sthalattār* to take leave and attend to their duties in the temple. Thereafter the palace dignitaries and poligars would be given presents after which only the king would retire to his private

apartments. By this time it would be day dawn and *pujas* would now be offered to the sceptre which till now had remained on the throne. It would then be taken back in procession to the temple. In this way the coronation of the Amman was used to be celebrated in the month of *Citrai*. During Mangammal's reign difficulties arose because being a woman she could not take part personally. *Battars* or other representatives took part and the ceremony lost much of its pomp. A similar ceremony was done for God Sundaresvara and the Goddess in the Svāmi Sannidhi *ārukāl pītha* on the seventh day festival in the month of *Āvani*. But during this festival the sceptre would remain in the palace on the following day also. On the ninth day when the *Piṭṭukku Maṇ Sumandadu* festival was celebrated the king would proceed in procession with the sceptre to the *Piṭṭuttoppu* where a symbolic ceremony re-enacting the legend would be held.

On the ninth day of the *Citra* festival Mināksbi's *Digvijaya* was celebrated with the God and Goddess seated in the *Indra Vimānam*. On the tenth day Minākshi's marriage was celebrated. The entries in the record are interesting. It mentions $3\,{}^{2}/_{12}$ in pagodas weight of gold for Minākshi's *tirumangalyam* valued at 5 cakrams (about Rs. 15) was given to the goldsmith who was paid a wage of 1 f. (about 4 as.) The Subrahmanyasvāmi from Tirupparankunram was brought to Madurai for the marriage and the *sthalāttār* of that temple were paid a customary fee of 5 fs. The record mentions in detail the various customary fees paid to the temple servants during this festival. The big car was prepared and a number of artisans like the mason, carpenter, blacksmith and painters were employed, for the purpose. Many of the articles for the car had to be brought from Tirupparankunram. Among other things the account mentions a sheep for *bali*. The *saptāvarna cappara* festival and the *Citrā pournima utsava* were also celebrated.

In *Vaikāsi* (May-June) *Vasantotsava* was celebrated for ten days. This took place in the *Pudu Mandapa*. One of the items of expenditure mentioned was the hire fee of 2 ch. paid to the *kottan* (mason) for fixing the canopy. The record mentions a *Pallakkoo Vasanta Utsavam* for one day and a *Tiruvanandal Vasanta Utsavam* also for one day besides a '*Veaivantoo chupprum*'.

The *unjal utsava* was the highlight of the *Āni* (June-July) *kattalai*. This festival which was celebrated for 10 days had no processions in the outer streets. The *Uttara Nakshatra utsava* was also performed in the month. The *Mulaikkottu Tiruvilā* and the *chuttu tari* were the main celebrations in the *Ādi* (July-August) month. These also were for ten days. The *Pura Nakshatra* was celebrated. New account for the year seems to have been started from this month as the record mentions the expenses of a *puja* for the purpose.

The *Āvani* month (August-September) opens with *Vināyaka Caturti* in which the Mukkuruni Pillaiyār occupies the limelight. This is followed by the important eighteen-day *Āvani Mula* festival. Many incidents from the *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends are enacted during the different days of the festival. These culminate with the *Pittukku man sumanda lila* in the *Pittuttoppu* when the king took part in the festi-val. The account includes an expense of eight annas paid to bearers for carrying the 48 images of the Sangattār.

The ten day *Navarātri* festival is the most important in the month of *Purattāsi* (September-October). The expenses include fees paid to decorators including one to tailors for pith flowers, *svatantra* for *battars* and Brahmans for ten days' *alankara* of the Amman and presents to dancing girls. The *Dasara* seems to have been celebrated at the two Hanumar temples at North Gate and Main Guard Gate and also at the Vyasaraja Hanumar temple.

In *Aippasi* (October-November) *Bharani nakshatra utsavam* for Bhairava was celebrated but the festival of the month was the *Dipā-vali* for which oil for *abhisheka* and clothes for all the shrines, main and subsidiary, in the temples and those in the neighbourhood were bought. The accounts give full details of these purchases. *Pura nakshatra utsava* was done in a similar manner as for *Ādi Pura*. The *Pavitrotsava* for five days and *Skandasashti* at the Subrahmanya Svāmi shrine were also performed during the month.

The *Karttigai* month (November-December) is noted for the *Dipotsava* when the expenses included fees for building the *Chocka-panay* and burning it. *Kārttigai Somavāra* was observed. The *Kārtigai* festival runs for ten days and includes the *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends of the impalement of Jains. *Abhishekas* were done for the 63 saints, *Aruvattumuvar*, and the *karnam* who read out their names was paid two *fanams* or about eight annas.

The *Mārgali* (December-January) festivals included the *Dhanur-māsa puja* for thirty days and the *Ārudra nakshatra* festival for one day. Ten days were devoted to Mānikkavācakar *utsava* and one day for the *Rātna* festival when dancing girls took part in a sort of maypole dance. The *nattuvan* and the dancing girls were paid about five rupees each.

A number of festivals were celebrated in *Tai* (January-February). *Makara Sankrānti* was observed and *māttu-pongal* also for which customary fees were paid to the cow-keepers. A ten day *utsava* for Sellattamma Durga was held. An entry in the accounts mentions a fee paid to "opening the eyes of the Patalum". It is not clear what is meant by this. A buffalo seems to have been sacrificed and for this ceremony fish, mutton, eggs and liquor were bought in addition to the usual articles of *puja*. The main festival of the month was the *Teppal* at the Vandiyur or Māriyamman Teppakulam. A number of artisans and articles are mentioned for building and decorating the floating *chappram* and these give information about the colours used and the mode of dyeing adopted in those days. The *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends enacted during this festival included the defeat of the Jains and the killing of the *Maya* elephant.

The *Māsi* month (February-March) started with the *Sivarātri*. New clothes were bought for all the deities. The *mandala utsava* which was held for a period of forty days started in this month and as usual for every other festival this account mentions the cusomary fees paid to temple servants.

The *Panguni* (March-April) festival was a ten day affair known as the *Vasanta Utsavam*. This month the God and Goddess went to Tirupparankunram for the marriage of Subrahmanya Svāmi.

TEMPLE HONOURS

The temple observed etiquette as much as the royal court and had its own form of honouring its devotees. The honour shown to the king when he attended the coronation ceremonies in *Citra* and *Āvani* months were a *Cādra* and a *megavarna* (blue) silk *parivatta*. The same honours were observed when he took part in the arrow-shooting or

took part in the *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends relating to the *māya pasu* or snake sent by the Jains. When the king attended the temple for worship on ordinary days the *cadra* and the silk were brought with him from the palace and these were used and sent back. If *sthānikas* from other temples or *vidvāns* or dance masters visited the temple or held discourses the temple authorities after taking the permission of the palace would tie a single cloth *parivatta*. If Subrahmanyasvāmi or Manikkavacakar attended the *Citra* or *Āvani* month festivals a red silk cloth would be used. On the occasion when a *nambi* or *sthānika* was newly appointed to fill a vacancy he would be honoured with a silk *dhoti parivatta*. *Rudrakannis* on initiation should have their *tirumangalya* tied by the *nambi* in the Svāmi shrine *ārukāl pitha* and after *dhiksha* should be honoured with a red silk saree *parivatta*. After this initiation she should not mix with Sudras. For the *devadāsis* one of the *battars* should tie the *pottu* before the Nayakar Sannidhi and honour them by a five cubit long *parivatta*. The same honour was done to the *nattuvan* also. For the *Purana Battar* who took part in the *kili arukkum lila* one cloth *parivatta* was tied and for the man who carried the inexhaustible paddy bundle (*ulavāk kottai*) a red cloth was tied.

An inventory of coins which remained in the treasury of the temple at the time when the British took over the administration (about 1802) gives a cross section of the currency in use. The following coins are noted. Star Pagodas, P.N. Pagodas, Bahadary Pagodas, Culli Cakrams, Contaroy, New Veroy chs, Old Veroy chs, Gopauly chs, Myely fanams, Company rupees, New P. Rupees, Arcot rupees, Sultanny rupees, Old P. Rupees, Ānay cash, and Chillara cash. The values of these are variously given but the currency in use at the time seems to have been fanams and culli cakrams. According to the *Madras Manual of Administration* a *culli cakram* was equal to 10 *fanams* and was worth about Rs. 2-12.

The details about temple administration, *puja* and festivals, except where noted specifically, refer to the practice obtaining in the Nayaka and post-Nayaka periods and the years immediately following the assumption of the administration by the British in 1801. They have no reference to the administrative system or to the mode of conducting festivals in the present day.

F. TEMPLES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The Kudal Alagar Temple

The Kudal Alagar Temple which is to the south-west of the Minākshi Temple possesses as ancient tradition as the latter temple. It has its own *Sthalapurāna* called the *Kudal Purānam*.

The deity of the temple is called Kudal Alagar and is installed in sitting posture in the lowest storey, in reclining posture in the second storey and in standing posture tin the third storey of the *Vimāna*. It may be recalled here that the deity in the Vaikuntanāthasvāmi temple at Conjeevaram is also in the three postures of sitting, reclining and standing in three tiers of the sanctum.

Unity and simplicity combined with elegance is the keynote of the architectural style of this temple. Unlike the Minākshi temple with its many lofty *gopuras*, towering above the central shrine, the outer *gopuras* of the Kudal Alagar temple are subordinated to the beautiful central *Vimāna* which is called the *Ashtānga Vimāna*. The *vimāna* rises from a square basement in the shape of a perfect pyramid and is capped by a circular copula, with a pointed golden *stupi* on top. The general style of the architecture of this temple seems to be of the late Vijayanagar period. A noticeable feature is the number of tiers on top of the *karnakudus*, *pancharams* and *sālais* which make each of them like a complete miniature shrine by itself. The same treatment is noticeable on *kumbapancarams*. The *kantha* of the *upapitha* is divided into a great number of panels carved in low relief illustrating Vaishnava legends. On the walls of the *garbhagriha* there are beautifully decorated pierced stone windows.

There are a number of portrait sculptures in the temple probably representing some of the Vijayanagara viceroys. Their identity is not clear at present. On the ceilings of a *mandapa* with finely polished black stone pillars there is some carved wood work. The wooden ceiling, however, is in a neglected state and many of its carvings are missing. There is, however, a small panel of Rāma Pattābhishekam which is beautifully carved and worth noticing.

In the early years of the present century the Amman shrine of this temple was pulled down and completely renovated. Many of the inscribed slabs of this shrine were heaped in a corner of the nearby Madanagopalasvami temple. Subsequently they appear to have been either misplaced or lost.

The Vijayanagara rulers and their officials appear to have made liberal benefactions to the temple as borne out by many of the epigraphs found in this temple. A record of Ramaraja Vitthaladeva Maharaja dated S 1469 (1547 A.D.) states that Kandādai Konamman supplied stones for building the *ardha mandapa* of the temple and that the work was completed during the administration of Immudi Yellappa Nayakkar.[1].

The temple seems to have suffered during the various sieges of Madurai in the 18th century. Its outer walls bear marks of gun shots.

The *teppakulam* of the temple is at a little distance to the north.

THE MADANAGOPALASVAMI TEMPLE is very near to the Kudal Alagar temple. Its *vimāna* is a fine piece of architecture. The high circular *griva* on its own *adhishthānam* is a feature worth noting. The present *vimāna* is a restored one but the restoration follows closely the original structure. A picture of the *vimāna* before restoration may be seen in Norman Brown's book "*A Pillared Hall*[2]". The *upapitha* below the *kapola* is under the present ground level. On the walls of the *ardha mandapa* there are many *Rāmāyana* panels in low relief, but the work is not of a very high order. Many parts of the temple are in a bad state of preservation.

THE NANMAITARUVAR TEMPLE which is also close by is connected with some of the *lilas* in the Madurai *Tiruvilaiyādals*. The deity is called Immaiyā Nanmaitaruvār and is said to have been set up at Naduvur and worshipped by God Sundaresvara Himself when He ruled as the Pandya king in Madurai. The present temple does not

1. M.E.R. 357 of 1911.

2. W. Norman Brown: *A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura*, 1940.

contain ancient vestiges though renovators appear to have attempted to conform to the earlier forms. The outer *gopura* has at present no brick superstructure. The stone case might be assigned to about late 16th c. architecturally. On the ceiling inside the entrance of the *gopura* there is a panel of faded and discoloured painting. The stone beam has a beautiful carving of a lake scene with birds, boatmen and lotuses and recalls the painting in Sittannavasal.

THE TEN TIRUVALAVAYUDAIYAR AND VADA TIRUVALAVAYUDAIYAR temples are also connected with the *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends. Both are small temples. Except perhaps the *garbhagriha* which may roughly be assigned to the late 16th c. A.D. the former has no vestiges of older structures. The base of the *garbhagriha* has a high *upana* and a chamfered *kumudam* above which are a *kartha* with lotus medallions and an *agrapattiyal*. The other temple which is now generally called Palaiya Cokkanātha Temple is an entirely modern structure built during the early years of the present century.

TEMPLES TO VIRABHADRA are uncommon in the Tamil country[1]. There are many sculptures of Virabhadra in the Minākshi Temple. There is also a Virabhadra temple in the West Masi Street. The worship of Virabhadra was probably patronised and popularised by the Vijayanagara and Nāyaka rulers who were Telugus and were worshippers of this deity.

THE SELLATTAMMAN DURGA TEMPLE is to the north of the city and is believed to be Kāli one of the guardian deities of Madurai city, mentioned in early works.

THE TIRUVAPPUDAIYAR TEMPLE on the northern bank of the Vaigai has an ancient history. It has a *sthalapurāna*. The older name of the place is Tiruvāppanur. The temple is mentioned in the *Devaram*. A few bulbous capital pillars with large abacus and square basse may be seen in the temple. The corbels are of a later nondescript type. Some of the *utsava* images in the temple are good specimens of early metal work.

1. H. Krishna Sastry: *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 159.

Tirupparankunram

Tirupparankunram which is four miles to the south-west of Madurai is famous for its Subrahmanya temple which is one of the six *padaividus* sacred to God Muruga. The temple is at the foot of the hill which rises to a height of 1048 feet. From early times the hill as been regarded has a holy place by the Hindus and by people of other sects. There are evidences that the hill has been resorted to by Jains in the earlier centuries, by the Hindus from very early times and by the Muhammadans also for a considerable time. The Hindus regard the whole of the hill as the sanctum itself and therefore circumambulate the hill. At the top of the hill is a tomb stated to be that of a Muslim Fakir. The tomb is visited by Muhammadan pilgrims who call the hill *Sikandermalai*. The Hindus call it *Skandamalai* or the hill of Skanda.

The Jain vestiges are on the western slope of the hill where there are some "Panca Pāndava" beds in two natural caverns with a short Brahmi inscription. Further evidences of Jaina association are on the southern face of the hill where near a natural spring known as theSarasvati Tirtha two panels of Jaina figures are carved on an overhanging boulder. The first panel has a standing image of a Jaina Tirtankara probably. Two women attendants are on either side of it and two cobras flank the figure below its knees. The other panel has a similar standing figure with a five-hooded serpent over head with perhaps an umbrella about it. This carving probably represents Pārsvanātha.

Brahmanic sculptures are found a little way further to the south-west near the *Kāsitirtha*. The images of Siva, Vināyaka, Subrahmanya, Bhairava and Visālākshi are sculptured in low relief in five different cells on a boulder here. There are two other rock-cut Hindu shrines. One is on the southern side of the hill and is called Umaiyāndān Koyil and the other is the well-known Subrahmanya temple at the northern foot of the hill[1].

1. The rock-cut caves and carvings in the Subrahmanya temple and that at Umaiyandan are described in Chapter IV. Section B: 2 (*iv*).

A striking feature of the Subrahmanya temple is the number of *mandapas* which rise one above the other to the level of the rock-out sanctum itself. The *mandapa* immediately in front of the sanctum may be said to correspond to the *ardhamandapa*. It is in the Madurai style and was perhaps built by Tirumala Nayaka whose statue is carved on one of the pillars here. Next to this *mandapa* is the *Mahāmandapa* and further on at a lower level is the large *Kambattadi Mandapa*. There are two unidentified Nayaka figures in this *mandapa* but the two most interesting sculptures are those of Parāsarar and Vedavyāsar. The sculpturing is probably that of a master hand. The characterisation is remarkable and the features have very little conventionalism. In the adjoining *Shanmukha Mandapa* are two other portrait statues of donors probably. Lower down than the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is the *Tiruvāsi Mandapa*. The entrance steps to this *mandapa* have beautifully carved horse balustrades with wheels behind the animals. These probably originally belonged to some older structure and might have been put in here as the most convenient place. Otherwise one cannot account for the wheels occupying so high a position. The pillars in this *mandapa* carry many sculptures relating to the *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāna*. Prominent among these are Siva feeding the pigs, the tigress suckling the deer, Minākshi's *digvijaya* and marriage, Jvaradeva and an Urdhvar. The Urdhvar is a powerful ten-armed, sculpture with two figures of Surya and Chandra in medallions above the *prabhāvali*. The marriage panel is not a good piece of work, but Minākshi on *digvijaya* seems to be better. The entire story from the killing of the pig to the feeding of the piglings and their subsequent life as ministers is carved. The Jvaradevar follows the usual style of three-legged figure but the exception is the axe in the back right hand. On the same level of the *Tiruvaśi Mandapa* is the *Vasantha Mandapa* and the tank. In a passage leading to the *Vasantha Mandapa* are four figures of *Ashtasaktis*. The other four images are missing. In the *Vasantha Mandapa* are two finely carved identical figures of which one is stated to be that of Muttambala Mudaliar. The *mandapa* also contains wooden images of some of the deities in the temple. These are stated to have been made when the temple underwent renovation and worship was offered to these wooden images. Whatever their origin may be they are today rare specimens of wooden images and so have to be taken care of. They are carved

from the *Kallatti* (*Ficus tomentosa*), a tree which abounds in the locality. The images represent two kneeling *dvārapālakas*, and a seated Subrahmanya which is placed on a high pedestal. The pedestal has an elephant and a hippogriff at the corners with two *ganas* between them and in the bottom panel are a peacock and a cock, the symbols of Subrahmanya. Next to this group is a figure of Durgā standing over a buffalo's head and next to that a Vighnesvara.

In front of the *Tiruvāsi Mandapa* is the *gopura* of the temple. It is a seven-storeyed structure. The *gopura* base which is in stone is two-storeyed and is a typical Vijayanagara specimen. Its *kutas*, *pancarams* and *sālais* stand out well from the wall surface. The wall surfaces have wall pilasters and short pilastered wall niches without niche openings. The order is repeated in the storey above. The projecting bays carry a smaller projection in front of their own wall surfaces. Altogether it is a well-proportioned structure. Instead of the usual Gangā-Yamuna motif there are two figures of donors or devotees in their place on the door jambs. From two inscriptions in the *gopura* dated S 1505 (1583 A.D.)[1], it is learnt that the *gopura* and the wall (*tirumadil*) were built by Krsna Virappa Nayaka, the grandson of Visvanatha Nayaka.

A third inscription[2] in the *gopura* states that Krsna Virappa built a *kalmatha* near the *gopura* and set up in it the image of Ganesa (Aingara) for the merit of Visvanatha Nayaka who was an ardent devotee of Sokkanātha. There is at present a temple of Sokkanatha in the Sannidhi Street, with a large *mandapa* in front of it where sculptures of Ganesa in various forms are found. There are also images of Indra, and Ganesa in the Svāmi shrine here. At the entrance to the Svāmi shrine here are two figures of Nayakas. The *kal matha* mentioned in the inscription may be a reference perhaps to this Sokkanatha temple though its precise location according to the inscription is not certain.

Crossing this *gopura* one enters the *Āsthāna Mandapa*. This is the entrance *mandapa* to the temple and is a very impressive building. The front pillars carry equestrian figures in the central

1. M.E.R. 262, 263 of 1942.
2. M.E.R. 264 of 1942.

members. The two corner pillars carry sculptures of Subrahmanya and Suran each standing within a pavilion. Between these and the equestrian pillars is a *yāḷi* pillar on either side. The sculpturing is not of the high standard of the *Pudu Mandapa*, but the array of pillars on a high base is impressive. The *maṇḍapa* carries a heavy cornice with a gaily painted parapet ornamentation above it. The interior of the *maṇḍapa* measures 116 feet by 94 feet with 48 monolithic pillars, each about 25 feet high. The pillars which carry a full complinent of bracketed capitals are sculptured with many iconographic figures. Among the figures in the *maṇḍapa* are Naṭaraja, Minākshi, Patañjali, Vyāghrapāda, Urdhvar and Kāli. The sculpture of Subrahmanya as Devaseena Kalyānamurti which is in the central nave of this hall needs special mention as it is a particularly fine piece of work and looks almost like that of Minākshi-Sundaresvara's marriage in the Madurai temple. A statues of queen Mangammāl identical with that in the *Nagarā Mandapa* at Madurai is on one of the pillars of the central nave in the *Āsthāna Mandapa*. The presence of this statue here leads one to infer that this *mandapa* may have been built during her reign.

During the military campaigns of the 18th c. the temple appears to have been used as a hospital for some time and is referred to as a "Rest House". One account says that "The hospital was in a great Rest House wherein were at least 300 sick people. I have never seen such a beautiful Rest House. It is all of hewn stone. The roof also of broad hewn stones, which are well fitted together, is supported upon a number of splendid pillars covered with carved figures. At the entrance one sees a crowd of lions and horses with riders all carved in stone. It is lofty, wide and long, but as air can come in only by the entrance, it was very unhealthy for the sick."[1] The above account evidently refers to the *Āsthāna Mandapa*.

During the several sieges of Madurai in this period Tirupparankunram appears to have served as an outpost and a military camping ground. An inscription[2] in the temple dated in S 1714 (1793 A.D.) belonging to the reign of a certain Hazarat Kepilai Nababu Saheb,

1. *Geschichte der Missions*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 586.
2. M.E.R. 261 of 1942.

states that a European regiment camped near Tirupparankunram, and did much damages to the temple. They demolished the Sokkanatha temple and the Palaniyāndavan temple, occupied the town, entered the *Āsthāna Mandapa*, forced their way through the blocked-up entrance of the *gopura*, and proceeded towards the *Kalyāna Mandapa*. At this juncture the various *sthānikas* of the temple, wishing to save the temple and the town, requested Kutti, the son of Vayiravi Muttu Karuppan, to sacrifice his life. Accordingly Kutti ascended the *gopura*, fell from there as a protest against the demolition of the temples. The European regiment then withdrew. As a reward a *rattakkānikkai* was granted to Kutti's descendants. Another inscription[1], probably of about the ssame date, also refers to a similar incident, and mentions that a *rattakkāni* was granted to the descendants of one Andarābarana Mudali, the son of Ellappa Mudali, for having fallen from the *gopura* and sacrificed his life.

Architecturally the Tirupparankunram hill and its temple afford interesting study since its shrines range from the 7th to 8th centuries to late Nayaka structures. The rock-cut shrines and bas-reliefs may be dated about the 7th or 8th centuries. Of mediaeval Pandya structures there are not many evidences and the survivals are confined to the few pillars with early corbels; for instance in the sanctum are four pillars with 13th c. corbels. Corbels of the early 14th c. type with undeveloped *pushpabodigai* are at the entrance to the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. Two corbels of the later 14th century type with *pushpabodigai* just developing are at the entrance to the *Maha Mandapa*. The *mandapas* themselves belong to the Madurai or Nayaka period while the *gopura* is of the late Vijayanagar period.

Alagarkoyil

About 12 miles north of Madurai is the Kallalagar temple in a wide expanse of hilly country. The temple is hugged on the northern and western sides by the hill which bears the deity's name. The place seems to have been once a prosperous village. The temple and the village were surrounded by a high-walled fort which no doubt was built by some ruler in early times who valued the strategic position of the place. The temple and the ruined

1. M.E.R. 260 of 1942.

fort walls are the only remains now standing. The village has entirely disappeared leaving only mounds of ruins on either side of the roadway.

One enters the village by the south fort gate. The first object to attract one's attention at the entrance is the Vināyaka shrine known as the Alankāra Vināyaka. The surprise at the presence of this shrine intensifies as one finds more Saiva images and shrines within the main temple itself. The temple is entered by the Hiranyan gate which is in the south wall of the outer *prākāra* and in a line with the south fort gate. Entering the outer *prākāra* by this gate one finds to the east of it a large mound of ruins below which is stated to be buried an ancient Subrahmanya shrine.

The main entrance to the temple is the *padinettāmbadi vāsal* which is on the eastern wall of the third *prākāra*. This is a seven-storeyed *gopura* with a stone base two storeys high. The present structure seems to be a 16th century creation. The *gopura* is remarkable for its clean lines and well-proportioned mass. This doorway, however, is not ordinarily used by the people. The presiding deity of this *gopura* is known as Padinettāmbadi Karuppannasāmi and next to the Kallalagar himself is the most venerated deity of the place. Strangely there is no idol to Karuppannasāmi. The two doors of the *gopura* are the only symbols used for worshipping him. He is worshipped by the Kallars and many litigations are settled by the contesting parties taking oaths before this God.

A smaller doorway to the north of the *padinettāmbadi vāsal* known as the *vandi vāsal* is now used by the pilgrims. A large open court with many *mandaps* is seen as one enters by the *vandi vāsal*. The largest of these *mandapas* is known as the *Kalyana Mandapa* with its many monolithic sculptured pillars. The pillars are carved with figures of *yālis*, iconographic images and portraits of royal personages. Some of these sculptures are those of Narasimhāvatāra, Lakshmi Varāha, Krishna, Garudāruda Mahāvishnu, Ānjaneya, Trivikrama, Rati and Manmata. The portrait sculptures are said to represent Krsnappa or Periya Virappa and Visvanatha II, who are stated to have been joint rulers from 1573-1595 A.D. Their identity, however, is not clear. The *mandapa* could be dated architecturally to the 16th century. Dotted about

this large *mandapa* are various other smaller *mandapas*, some of them ranging from early Vijayanagara to the late Vijayanagara periods.

Back of the *Kalyāna Mandapa* is the *Tondamān Gopura*[1] which leads to the third *prākāra* of the shrine. This is a five-storeyed structure. The base of this *gopura* has an *upāna*, a high *kanta*, a chamfered tore and an *agrapattiyal*. The wall pilasters have square *palagai* and *idal* with a bevel and tenon corbel. The base may be dated about the 13th or 14th century. The brick superstructure above is a later addition. On the south side of this *prākāra* which is known as the Tirumala Nayaka *prākāra* are a number of old shrines dating more or less about the same period as the base of the *Tondamān Gopura*. The first shrine is the Ālvār Sannidhi, the next one the Thāyār Sannidhi with the Sudarsana shrine next to it. In the corner is the *palliyarai*. Four portrait statues are in front of the Ālvār shrine. They are two each on either side of the entrance to the shrine. The two figures immediately to the right and left seem to be persons of importance. One of them has the Vijayanagara high cap and a five-row bracelet and is probably a Vijayanagara viceroy. The other one wears a turban and *vibhuti* and a necklace with a pendant casket like those worn by Lingāyats. Similar figures are also seen in the Madurai temple. There are more statues in front of the *pallyiyarai*. Notable among these is a statue of Tirumala Nayaka and a sculpture of two figures stated to be those of two soldiers. In the north *prākāra* is the shrine to Sri Godha (Kodaināyaki). In the pillars opposite to the shrine are more portrait statues which are probably those of Vjayanagara viceroys.

In the north-east corner of this *prākara* is the Mettu Krishnan Koyil with its large seven-aisled *mandapa*. On the south wall of the *mandapa* is an inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I stating that he built this "Koyil Ponmeynda Perumāl Tiru Mandapam"[2]. The *adhisthāna* of the Mettu Krishnan shrine has an *upāna*, *padmadala*, fluted *kumudam*, *kantam*, and *kapota* above

1. M.E.R. 331 of 1929 states that the Tondaiman Gopura was built by Tondaimanar, son of Kalingarayar of Seluvattur.

2. M.E.R. 84 of 1929.

which the wall pilasters rise. The wall pilasters have a *pushpa-bodigai*. The niche opening has its own corbelled short semi-pilasters surmounted by a *kapota*, pavilion and *salai* roof. The *mandapa* here has a curious medley of pillars ranging from the early cylindrical shaft with bevel and tenon corbel to the later composite cubical pillars with bracketed capitals. Two of the pillars are of an early *gopura* type. Others are of the cubical type with early corbels of bevel and tenon or lotus bud type. A characteristic of some of these many-aisled *mandapas* seems to be that the later type of composite coubical pillars usually flank the nave while the side aisles have the earlier types of mixed pillars. This is probably due to the fact that rulers who enlarged an existing smaller *mandapa* into a larger one used the new pillars of the later style in the central nave and the front entrances sometimes. The older pillars of the smaller *mandapa* were used for the side aisles.

The eastern *prākāra* leads to the *Āryan Mandapa* which is another large seven-aisled *mandapa*. This is a characteristic Vijayanagar structure. Its many elegant compound and composite pillars, its lion-based octagonal bulbous capital square *palagai* pillars and its big *cyma-recta* cornice with simulated timber work under the eaves all bespeak its Vijayanagara origin. Like the *mandapa* of the Mettu Krishnan Koyil this *mandapa* also has a mixed type of pillars, the nave having cubical composite pillars of the 16th century while the side aisles have cubical pillars with lotus bud corbels of 13th or 14th century type and other pillars with *pushpabodigais* of the 17th century.

The *Āryan vāsal* in the *Āryan Mandapa* leads to the second *prākāra* surrounding the sanctum. Two shrines in this *prākāra* are dedicated to Bhairava or *Kshetrapāla* and Valamburi Vināyaka. *Vibhuti prasādas* are given in these two shrines.

The *garbhagriha* has a circular base from which the circular *vimāna* rises. The *garbhagriha* of this shrine is peculiar in this respect because most of the shrines that have a circular *vimāna* have a square or rectangular base. The ambulatory passage in the Alagar temple consequently is circular owing to the shape of its base. This circular *pradakshinaprākāra* is called *Nangal*

kunram prākāra and contains a number of finely wrought pierced stone windows. Circular or oval *vimānas* in Vaishnava temples are usually erected over the *sayana* forms of Vishnu. But here the image is a standing one.

The *mulavar* in the sanctum is called Sri Paramasvāmi. He is in the standing posture with Sri Devi and Bhu Devi on either side on the same *pitha*. The *utsavar* is called Sri Sundararāja or Alagar. In the sanctum " is kept the wooden image of the god, the processional image (an unusually handsome affair heavily plated with gold), (and) another image, about 15 inches high, made of solid gold and most beautifully chased."[1] The last-mentioned image is stated to be made of solid *aparanji* gold and referred to in the *Nālāyira Divya Prabhandam* as Sri Solaimalaikkarasar.

The *vimāna* on top of the *garbhagriha* is known as the *Somaccanda Vimāna*. On the eastern face of it is an arched projecting niche with an image of the God on Garuda Vāhana. On a panel below is a relief of Gajalakshmi. The facade of the projecting arch is an elaborate *yāli* and *makara* motif. Three *stupis* surmount the *sikhara*. The whole of this *vimāna* is gilded.

The Rayagopura is on the same south exterior wall as the Hiranyan gate. This *gopura* is in complete ruin now. Between the south wall and that of the temple is the *Vasantha Mandapa* which is another old structure which may be dated about the 14th or 15th centuries. This *mandapa* is remarkable for its ceiling paintings relating to the *Rāmāyana* and other Vaishnava episodes. As some of these panels are unfinished one may notice the artist's mode of work. These paintings are almost similar in style to the Tirupparuttikkunram paintings and were probably executed about the same period.

Tirumālirunjolai or Alagarmalai has been reputed as a place of great sanctity from ancient times. Natural caverns on the hill appear to have been used as resorts by Buddhists and Jains as well as Hindu ascetics. One such natural cavern has been discovered

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1. W. Francis : *Madura District Gazetteer*, p. 284.

with *panca pandava* beds, and Brahmi inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd centuries B.C. as well as a Vatteluttu inscription of about the 9th c. A.D. mentioning the famous Jaina teacher Ajjanandi.[1]

Sangam works call the hill variously as *Māl kunram, Tirumāl kunram*, and mention shrines to Vishnu, Balarama and Subrahmanya on the hill. Balarama worship has now become extinct in the Tamil country. The site of the ancient Subrahmanya shrine on the hill is not traceable at present. In the *Tirumurugārrup-padai* Nakkirar refers to Tirumālirunjolai as *Palamudirsolai*, one of the six abodes or *padaividus* of Muruga. From the available evidences it may be inferred that Alagarmalai must have been a Saivite centre before it was changed into a Vaishnavite one "because (a) the presiding deity is known only as Paramasvāmin in inscriptions, (b) there are shrines to Vighnesvara and *kshetrapāla* in the temple where the *prasādam* is still the sacred ashes, (c) there are shrines for all the minor deities of the Saivite hierarchy within the fort, and (d) much importance is attached to Karuppanna sanctum near which a Subrahmanya shrine is also said to have existed."[2]

The Vishnu temple at Alagarkoyil is considered to be one of the 108 sacred Vaishnava shrines, of which eighteen are in the Pandya country. All the Vaishnava Ālvārs have visited this temple and six of them[3] have sung 123 *pāsurams* in praise of the deity here.

The temple contains a large number of inscriptions, of which the earliest is dated in the 23rd year of Rajaraja Chola I[4]. A study of these epigraphs would show that from the time of the mediaeval Pandyas the temple has enjoyed the continuous patronage of the various dynasties which ruled over the Madurai country. Māravarman Sundara Pandya I and Jatāvarman Sundara Pandya I made many benefactions to the temple. The Hoysala Vira Somesvara (1234-1264 A.D.), the *māmadi* of Māravarman Sundara Pandya II, instituted the "Posala Vira Somidevan Sandi" in the temple[5].

1. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar : *Alagarkoyil Inscriptions*, Q. J. M. S., Vol. XXVII, p. 125.

2. *Ibid*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 125.

3. Periyalvar, Andal, Tirumangai Alvar, Bhutattālvār, Peyālvār and Nammlvār.

4. M.E.R. 80 of 1910.

5. M.E.R. 291, 292 of 1930.

During the 15th c. A.D. the temple received many benefactions from the Bāṇādarāyās who were staunch Vaishnavas and regarded God Alagar as their tutelary deity. "*Alagar tiruvullam*" was one of their sign manuals[1]. In about the year 1464 A.D. Tirumālirunjolaininrān Māvali Vānādarāyan Urangāvillidāsan had the temple renovated from *upāna* to *stupi* by Tiruvālan Somayāji[2]. In the *palliyarai* of the temple is a polished black stone platform (*pitha*) with the inscription "*Bālagopālan tiruppallikka'til*". Since "Bhupālagopālaln" was one of the titles assumed by the Bāṇādarāyas this *pitha* was probably also a gift by one of the Bāna rulers.

The Vijayanagara viceroys and the Nayaka rulers also extended their liberal patronage to the temple. The *Rāyavācakamu* states that Krishnadeva Raya halted at Alagarkoyil for three days after attending the *Mahāmakha* festival at Kumbakonam in 1517 A.D. Many of the temple structures are in the Vijayanagara style. The Vijayanagara emblem consisting of the boar, conch, *cakra*, crescent and sword is found engraved in the unfinished *Raya Gopura* in which there is also a Vijayanagara inscription dated 1546 A.D.[3]

Tirumala Nayaka is said to have built the third *prākāra* of the temple, and erected the ivory bedstead in the *palliyarai*. A ruined *mandapa* to the south of the Hiranyan fort gate is called *Tirumala Nayaka Mandapa*. A much dilapidated structure near it is stated to be a palace built by Tirumala.

Tirumohur

The temple at Tirumohur which is situated six miles north-east of Madurai is one of the 108 Vaishnava *sthalas*. Nammālvār, Tirumangai Ālvār and Manavālamāmuni have sung in praise of the deity here. The legendary origin of the shrine traces the story back to the churning of the ocean by the *Devas* and *Asuras* to obtain the divine *Amirtham* or nectar. Lord Vishnu appeared in the form of the beautiful maiden, Mohini. When the nectar was churned out Vishnu as Mohini collected it. While the *Asuras* were admiring the beauty of Mohini, she distributed the *amirtham* to the *Devas* who were waiting ready to receive it. *Mohanakshetra*, the

1. M.E.R. 25 of 1890.
2. M.E.R. 307 of 1930.
3. M.E.R. 93 of 1929.

purānic name of Tirumohur, shows that the nectar was distributed at this place. The goddess of the shrine is also aptly called Mohara-valli Thāyār. The deity here is called Kālamegha Perumāl.

The Tirumohur temple is not a large one, but it is an ancient shrine, containing vestiges of early structures, dating back to the 14th century. The main shrine is enclosed by two walls which are unusually high and no doubt tempted many invading armies to use it as a fort. There are many beautiful *mandapas* in the *prākāras*. At the east entrance is the *Kambattadi* or *Marudu mandapa* which has two fine portrait statues of Periya Marudu and Cinna Marudu, the noble chieftains who helped Kattabommu and his brother of Pancalankuricci fame and who donated largely to the temple here. The *Kambattadi Mandapa* leads to the *Garuda mandapa* which contains beautiful carved pillars with figures of Rama with Sita, Lakshmana, Rati and Manmatha. The *Mahā mandapa* contains some ornate pillars of the Vijayanagar style.

The Kalameghapperumāl sanctum is almost a square structure. The base has a high *upana* with a *kumuda* and a many-panelled *kanta* with *kapota* above which are the *adhishthana* mouldings. The *adhishtāna* has *upana* and *padmadala* with *kumudam*, *kantam* and *kapota*. The *vedi* forms the base from which the wall and its pilasters rise. The central *salai* has a niche opening. The *pancara* projection has a *kumbapancara* on either side of it and the corner projections have pilasters with pavilion *kudu*. The corbels are of the early Vijayanagara period. The cornice above has simulated timber work under it. Above this cornice is a *vyalatari* with many *makaras* projecting at the cornice. The superstructure is in two storeys. The intervening spaces beetween the storeys have each a row of *yāli kudus* which seems rather peculiar. The *vimana* is circular but has pronounced projecting pavilion *kudus* on four sides.

Architecturally the temple may be stated to be about the middle of the 16th c. A.D. There are, however, certain Pandya features inside the sanctum. Near the north-eastern corner is the Kshirābdi Sayanar Sannidhi with eight rows of pillars forming seven aisles. The shrine seems to be an ancient structure. The Kshirābdi Sayanar Sannidhi has square pilasters and twin *palagais* with a primitive *idal* below. *Nāgabandas* are absent. The niches have short semi-pilasters with a *torana* above. The shrine probably may belong to the 13th or 14th c.

Another old bit of structure remaining is a disused shrine which has similar pilasters with twin *palagais*, with *virakantam* and bevel and tenon corbels. The semi-pilasters of the niche are surmounted by a *tiruvasi-torana*.

There is a large Sudarsana image which is on a square slab more than four feet high[1]. On the front Sri Sudarsana is carved with sixteen hands within a circle which has many *tantric* symbols. The flat surface of the square is carved with many figurines in its various boundaries. The back of the Sudarsana is similarly carved, but in the centre is a figure of Yoga-Narasimha. The figures of Sudarsana and Narasimha are somewhat mutilated, but there can be no doubt that this is a unique piece of iconography which should find a more secure place than the ground on which it stands next to the wall of the inner *prākāra*. The image resembles very nearly the large and more famous one in the Kallalagar temple at Alagarkoyil which is stated to be the only one of its kind in India. A new image has been installed in the temple in place of this mutilated idol.

There are a number of mediaeval inscriptions on the walls of the temple. From them one learns that various gifts were made to the temple throughout the regime of the Pandyas. During the Sangam period in the early centuries of the Christian era, Tirumohur was the well-fortified stronghold of a Tamil chieftain and hero named Palaiyan. Many Sangam age poets have sung about the place. Ptolemy, the Alexandrian astronomer, writing about 140 A.D., mentions an inland place, Magour, in his Geographical Tables. Probably this is a reference to Tirumohur which was known as Mohur in the early ages.

Even as late as the 18th and 19th centuries, Tirumohur was noted for its strong fortifications. The town and the temple played a prominent part during the troublous times that followed the downfall of the Madurai Nayaka dynasty in the middle of the 18th century. Tirumohur was then variously known as Kovilkudi and Tirumbur.

1. M.E.R. 330 of 1918, from Tirumohur dated in the 7+1st year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, registers a gift of land to the shrine of Tiruvali-Alvan (i. e., Cakrattālvār) set up in the temple by a certain Gangeya. This might probably refer to the square Sudarsana described above, though the identity of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya among the several mediaeval rulers of this name is not clear.

Tiruvadavur

Tiruvādavur which is 16 miles to the north-east of Madurai, is famous as the birrth place of the Sangam poet Kapilar and the Saiva saint Manikkavacaka who figures in four *lilai* of the *Tiruvilaiyadal purana*. The presiding deity of the place is known as Vedapurisvara and Vedanādha. The Sanskrit *Sthalapurāna* states that when Vishnu worshipped the *linga* here, the sound "Vedaham" emanated from the *linga*. Hence the deity here was named Vedandha. The temple is beautifully situated in picturesque surroundings with the Alagar hills as back-drop. The temple which faces east has a *prākara* which an entrance *gopura*, which is five-tiered. The stone base has a single storey with an *adhishthana*. The superstructure has only an architectural rendering without stucco figures.

The *garbhagriha* is a square structure with the usual *kutas*, *pancarams* and *salais*. The *vimana* is a cubical one. There is an *ardhamandapa* and *maha mandapa* in front of the *garbhagriha*. South of these *mandapas* is a projecting *mandapa* known as the *ārukal pitha* with bulbous capital octagonal pillars. The *mandapa* is surmounted by a heavy cornice which is a characteristic feature of this temple. The cornices which are of the *cyma reta* type with timber work imitation on their under-surface, are heavy blocks of granite from 10 to 14 feet in height. The thickness of these cornices varies from a thin section to a very heavy section. Their carving and subsequent mounting on the entablature speak very highly about the skill and constructional methods of Indian masons. The photographs illustrating the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa* and the *ārukal pitha* show details of these cornices. The Nataraja Sannidhi has a beautiful *mandapa* approached by a *yāli* balustrade with composite pillars of the Vijayanagara type with multifoliated corbels of the same period. Between the Nataraja Sannidhi and the eastern wall is the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa* of which only a fractional part stands today in a ruined state. The rest of the *mandapa* is in complete ruin and the debris which lies about is covered by earth and shrubbery. In the south-west corner is a Kalisvara shrine. Short bulbous capital octagonal-sided pillars with late 16th c. *pushpabodigai* corbels are in the front *mandapa* of the shrine. But the shrine itself appears to belong to an earlier period.

The Amman is in a separate shrine outside the wall to the south of the Svami sanctum.

A group of early individual sculptures of the Saptamatrikas is found abandoned against the west wall of the *prākāra*. Close to the north wall is another abandoned stone sculpture of Manikkavacaka which is mutilated. A new figure of the saint has been installed in place of the damaged one.

Inscriptions are found in many parts of the temple.

The sanctum and the *mandapas* in the temple are very chaste specimens of the Vijayanagara style as it prevailed in this region and it is a pity that many of these structures should be either completely ruined or seriously damaged. The temple is laid out on simple lines with the main shrine and the other structures forming a unified whole.

A spot is pointed out in the village as the birth place of the saint Manikkavacaka and a shrine now commemorates it.

B. PALACES

1. TIRUMALA NAYAKA'S PALACE

Tirumala Nayaka is credited with having constructed a number of buildings in Madurai and among these the most outstanding are the *Pudu Mandapa* in front of the east *Gopura*, the large Vandiyur Teppakkulam to the south-east of the city, and the palace named after him in the south-east corner within the fort. The palace grounds originally occupied an area of a square mile. But of the many buildings in this immense area some were pulled down and removed to Trichinopoly by Cokkanatha for constructing his palace there. A number of other buildings suffered much damage during the wars in the middle of the 18th century. About the beginning of the 19th century the palace was in ruins and it was difficult to identify the buildings or reconstruct the layout of the original palace.

The only block that has survived today is the enclosed court known as the Svarga Vilasam and a few buildings adjoining it. The rest of the area has been laid out into streets and built up. However, a few remnants of the old palace buildings are dotted about among the street houses and lend an oddly incongruous note to their surroundings.

A detailed description of the layout of the main buildings of the palace is given in Taylor's "*Oriental Historical Manuscripts*"[1]. The English translation of the description in Tamil is somewhat mistaken, but one could get a fairly accurate picture from the description in Tamil. The map of the city of Madurai in 1757 given in Cambridge's "*War in India*"[2] shows the palace as it existed originally. Another map of about the same time drawn by the French general Marchand[3] gives almost a similar plan of the main parts of the palace buildings. As the Tamil description in Taylor's "*Oriental Historical Manuscripts*" tallies with these plans it is possible in a way to reconstruct the plan of the original palace.

In the following description of the palace from the Tamil version of Taylor's book the paragraphs relating to the various buildings have been numbered and as the same numbers are marked in the 1757 plan it may be seen how closely the description corresponds with the plan. It may thus be possible to visualise the various buildings of the palace and where they stood. To further elucidate the positions the old plan of the palace has been superimposed on a corresponding area of the plan of the city today. This would show how the precincts have been cut up into streets and where the old buildings would be most likely situated if they had survived today.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PALACE : The following notes are from the description in Tamil given in Taylor's "*Oriental Historica Manuscripts.*"

1. The main entrance was to the east of Ten Pillars in the north-east corner of the palace.

2. 18 different musical instruments used to be played in the entrance portal.

3. Further to the east was the building where the palanquins etc. were kept.

4. To the west of Ten Pillars was the Ranga Vilasam court.

5. To the north-west of Ranga Vilasam was the Candrika (moonlight terrace) platform surrounding which was an arcade with domes.

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1. Taylor's *Oriental Histrorical Manuscripts*, Vol. II, pp. 156-159.
2. Reproduced in the *Madura District Gazetteer*, 1906.
3. S. C. Hill's *Yusuf Khan*

6. On its northern side the guardian rajas (Poligars in charge of the bastions) stayed. Also various weapons and State paraphernalia were kept there.

7. To the west of Ranga Vilasam was the apartment for women.

8. To the south of Ranga Vilasam and in the south-west was the Rajarajesvari shrine facing east with a court in front.

9. There were arcades and open courts with ornamental works on the east of Ranga Vilasam.

10. In front of the Rajarajesvari shrine also was a water fountain and a garden with domed buildings.

11. South-west of this, running east to west was a *Nataka Sala* (hall) wherein Tirumala Nayaka used to spend the evenings watching dancing by nautch girls when he was seated in torch light durbar.

12. To the west of this hall was a big dome with stone pillars and a platform below.

13. To the south of this was Svarga Vilasam.

14. To the west of the enclosed court of Svarga Vilasam was a big dome with stone pillars and a platform.

15. On the platform during the *Navaratri* celebrations Tirumala Nayaka used to sit in durbar on a gem-studded throne under an ivory canopy.

16. To the north, south and west of this big dome were three other domes with stone pillars under them.

17. On both sides of the central open court were two arcades with rectangular vaults ornamented with equestrian stucco figures.

18. In the north-east corner of this oppostie to the entrance was the staircases leading to the terrace. Tirumala Nayaka with his queens used to watch the temple processions from the terrace. There was an arcade and two towers with gilt *stupis* at either end of the terrace. In the same way the Ranga Vilasam, the Devi Shrine and the Hall had gilt *stupis*.

19. To the west of Svarga Vilasam were two beautiful buildings with stone arcades where the queen and other ladies of the harem used to listen to musical entertainments.

20. West of this annexe was the armoury. North of the armoury was the *Vasanta Vapi*, an ornamental tank surrounding which was an arcade with dome.

21. To the north of this was the palace where the ruler witnessed wrestling bouts, ram fights and other sports.

22. West of this was the palace with domes and arcades where the king's relations used to reside.

23. Enclosing all these buildings was a high wall which ran from the south-east to the north-east upto the balcony tower near the entrance.

24. Outside this wall in the south-west was a pleasure garden where there were platforms with arcades and domes and swimming baths where the king spent the time with his ladies.

25. Tirumala Nayaka's younger brother, Muttala Nayaka lived with his family in Ranga Vilas.

The above description would show that the palace was a vast collection of buildings with domes and turrets, of arcades and open courts with gardens and ornamental tanks. It is difficult to believe that Tirumala Nayaka could have constructed all this huge pile of buildings within his own term of sovereignty. It is more likely that Tirumala Nayaka restored, repaired, or added to existing buildings in addition to many new buildings which he himself erected. Most of these older buildings have now disappeared.

The one building that survives today and that is attributed to Tirumala Nayaka is the Svarga Vilasam or Audience Hall. This huge pavilion which measures 235 feet long and 105 feet wide consists of the Audience Hall at the western end, an open court in front of it and surrounding the open court an arcade and pillared cloisters, in the north, south and east sides. The pillars of the arcade rise to 40 feet from the ground level while the three rows of pillars in the cloister rise from a platform eight feet high from the floor. The pillars are 16 feet to the top of the capital. The roof of the cloisters is terraced but in the centre the roof rises to a vaulted dome 70 feet high. The audience hall or Svarga Vilasam as it is known has five rows of pillars which rise to the same height as those of the cloisters. Immediately in front of the arcade before the Svarga Vilasam is a pillared *mandapa* known as the *Kalyāna Mandapa*. The beautiful stuccoed arches of this *mandapa* rest on four graceful composite pillars. In the centre of the Svarga Vilasam is a big dome measuring 60 feet supported by twelve columns forming a square 64 feet across. These columns have heavy foliated arches and the square is converted

into an octagon by four other arches thrown across the corners on the square. An octagonal clerestory rises from here and 45 feet above the ground the octagonal clerestory is changed by a similar device into a sixteen-sided polygon which is converted into a circle above the cornice from where the massive dome arises. Two smaller domes are to the north and south of this. Below the central dome was a black polished stone platform on which was an ivory canopy. Below this canopy sat Tirumala Nayaka in durbar on a bejewelled throne during the Dasara celebrations.

At the north-west corner of Svarga Vilasam is a hall measuring 125 feet long by 69 feet wide and 70 feet in height. This super-columnated building has a narrow gallery running round all its four sides. Foliated arches connect the pillars and support the roof. According to tradition Tirumala Nayaka used to sit in the evenings in torch light durbar receiving the homage of his subjects or watching entertainments and dance performances. Adjoining the Entertainment Hall on the east is a large domed building which must once have formed part of a larger structure. Its facade is now lost and its original design is not known. It is probably the stone-pillared platform referred to in paragraph 12 of the Tamil description of the palace given above.

Behind the domed chamber of the Svarga Vilasam on the western side are other rooms with tall slender black polished stone pillars and an octagonal domed vault. The photograph shows the mode of construction. Though this is now described as the Puja room, it was probably the building referred to in the Tamil description (paragraph 19) where the queen and other ladies used to listen to music.

The old entrance to the Audience Hall was on the west and the present entrance through the cloisters on the east was made about the end of the last century. Most of the stucco and chunam plastering seen today were recently made during extensive repairs to the buildings, but they follow very closely the original designs as they were before they were damaged.

The Naubatkhana referred to in paragraph 1 of the Tamil description was in a much damaged state and was considered to be beyond repair. The site is now occupied by a primary school.

Walking through the bylanes and streets which now fill what was once the palace ground, one comes across many remnants of the palace tucked among modern houses. The photograph taken from the terrace of a house in Pattunulkaran Street looking towards the ten pillars shows a clerestory window on the left. This is part of a vaulted structure. This probably formed a part of the Rajarajesvari shrine mentioned in paragraph 8 of the Tamil description. Further to the west in Nattanmai Krishna Chetti lane is a building with a large dome in figures. This evidently formed a part of the *Vasanta Vapi* mentioned in paragraph 20 of the Tamil description. The interior view shows how the present floor level is almost close to the capital of the pilasters. The original floor might have been at a lower level leading to the swimming pool in the centre. The photographs of the interior of the dome and the walls show clearly the method by which a circular dome was erected over a quadrangular structure. A curious remnant of the old palace is the Ten Pillars which stand in a narrow lane. It is not known for what purpose these 50-foot tall pillars were erected, though the popular story is that they were for elephant stables. They might have been projected on a grand entrance way and must have been abandoned by a 40-foot high wall which ran from the south-east to the west and thence to the north from where it continued to the east up to the entrance in the north-east corner. After the downfall of the Madurai rulers when the palace was abandoned and had fallen into ruins the grounds were crowded with hutments and it is stated that the walls were pulled down early in the 19th century to admit fresh air to the conjested locality. The present Singaratoppu Street marks the site of the pleasure garden which was to the south-west, outside the palace wall.

The architecture of the palace has evoked some interesting remarks from European critics. "The style of architecture adapted throughout this palace", says Captain Lyon in the descriptive notes to his photographs, "is an admixture of Saracenic forms with Hindu details which the native princes of India very generally adapted in the 17th century in their secular buildings. Generally it may be said to be deficient in that harmonious completeness which characterises the true Muhammadan buildings of Agra and Delhi and to want the elaborate finish of the Hindu religious buildings but the combination is always singularly picturesque and has often given rise to forms of

great beauty............ Unfortunately the style was never carried to its legitimate issue; it was invented only on the eve of the decline of native supremacy and power and before it had lasted a century and a half, it fell before the debasing influence of the European style of architecture". James Fergusson writing about the Durbar hall thinks that "it possesses all the structural propriety of a Gothic building. It is evident that if the Hindus had persevered a little longer in this direction they might have accomplished something that would have surpassed the works of their masters in this form of art"[1].

E.B. Havell, while agreeing with Fergusson about the Gothic character of the building, thinks that "misunderstood the origin of the great Hindu foliated arches and made the usual mistake of calling them Saracenic". Like other writers Havell also remarks "this great palace was a beginning of a new style fusing into one artistic entity the individual characteristics of the three different cults now prevailing in India—Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian. The arches are Hindu in form but Muhammadan in application, the 'classic' columns which support them are Christian by adoption and the whole building is thoroughly European in structural character."[2] But, according to Percy Brown, the palace at Madurai "although a work of considerable magnitude, denotes an architectural retrogression"[3]. Secular architectures up to this time like the Lotus Mahal in Hampi or the Chandragiri Palace showed a successful synthesis of the two influences, Dravidian and Islamic by the South Indian craftsman; but in Tirumala Nayaka's Palace a third influence, the European, becomes apparent and according to Percy Brown "the builders, while competent to bring about a pleasing result when dealing with the two styles of the country................are unable to assimilate and successfully combine in their composition a third style, and that an occidental one."

2. MANGAMMAL'S PALACE

To the north-east of the Temple are a block of buildings known as Mangammal's palace. These are now occupied by a municipal market and other offices. The only remains of the palace that are seen today are certain remnants amidst these modern buildings.

1. James Fergusson: *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, p.412.
2. E.B. Havell: *Indian Architecture*, 1913, p. 210.
3. Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, 2nd Edn., p. 131.

The characteristic features of these old structures are polished black stone pillars and foliated arches with vaulted or circular domes. The surviving buildings are not architecturally of the same great merit as Tirumala Nayaka's palace. The only room of some considerable dimension is the large hall with eight polished black stone pillars now used by a P.W.D. Office. A larger hall with masonry pillars and heavy arches similar to those in the Tamkam is adjacent to the north-east corner of the Central Market. Close to it is an open area with an arched wall which is now pointed out as the remains of Mangammal's bathing chamber.

3. THE TAMKAM

The Tamkam is about 12 miles to the north-east of the present Madurai City, across the river Vaigai. Who built it or how it originated are not definitely known, both Tirumala Nayaka and Mangammal being equally credited as the builders of it. Tamkamu is identified by some with Fort Defiance which was erected druing the siege of Madurai by Major Campbell in 1764. "It is the only outpost erected during the siege which can be identified with any approach to confidence. Portions of it are said to be included in what is now known as the Tamakam. It was a lofty building, an old pagoda being utilised in its construction and was used as a signal station for communicating rapidly with all the other outposts."[1] All accounts describing the building state that it was constructed on the top of a square mound of earth about 15 feet high with a stone facing on the outside. The pillars which are square support crenulated arches above which is a circular dome with a lotus pattern similar to those of Tirumala Nayaka's palace. Covering the dome a terrace has been put up and over this a sixteen-sided room with modern flat roof has been built. From the terrace at this level one could command a view of a wide expanse of the country for miles around. Originally this building seems to have been open on all sides but as it was surrounded by a colonnade of arched pillars the place was stated to be remarkably cool. The enclosing walls today are modern constructions.

The purpose for which the building was erected is as uncertain as its origin. The pouplar version is that it was used by the rulers to witness fights between wild animals or other sporting events.

1. S.C. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 172.

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